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The Pahlavi Codices and Iranian Researches

RICHARD NELSON FRYE

OPERA MINORA

Vol. 2

Edited

by

Y. M. Nawabi

Published by the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University
51
Shiraz, Iran
1977

Printed by Pahlavi University Press in Shiraz.
1977

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* Due to a typographical error number 33 has been omitted.

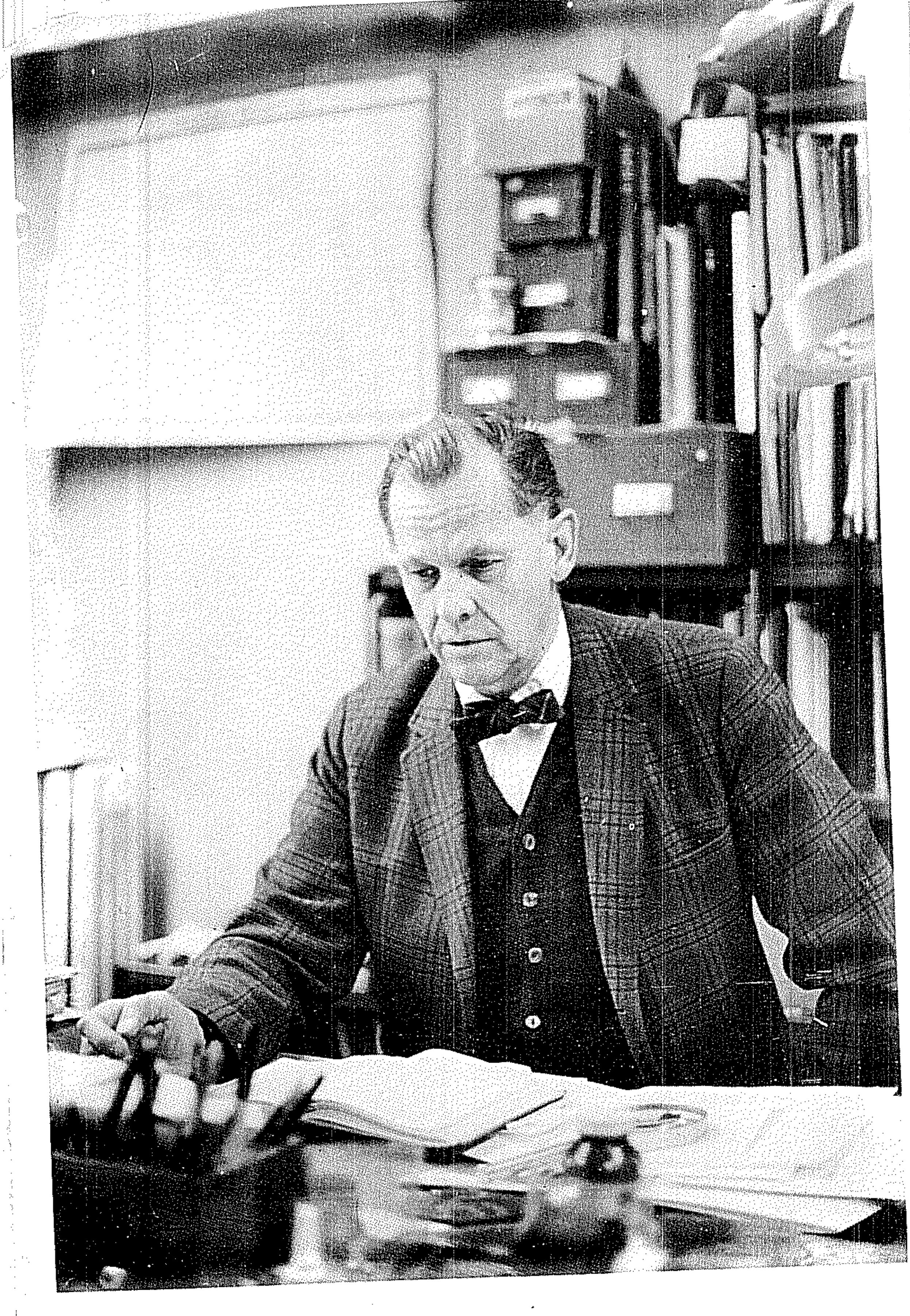
Introduction

The second volume of the Opera Minora of Richard N. Frye continues his articles about ancient Iran and Central Asia, but the major part of this book is concerned with Islamic times.

Few scholars concerned with ancient times concern themselves with events after the coming of Islam and students of Islam rarely turn their attention to the more distant past. Professor Frye is an historian who has often stressed the continuity of history in Iran and Central Asia, and more than anyone else, he has sought to bridge the ancient world and the world of Islam in his writings. His wide range of knowledge and interests are revealed in this second volume of his minor writings.*

Mahyar Nawabi
Director of the Asia
Institute of pahlavi
University

* In the article "The Persepolis Middle Persian inscriptions...", p. 203, vol. 1. The reading Varāz (gān) by Dr. A. Sh. Shahbazi is a tentative suggestion only, and the original translation "of Varāz (family)" is equally applicable.



THE COLOGNE GREEK CODEX ABOUT MANI

Ex Orbe Religionum-Festschrift Geo Widengren,
vol. I Leiden 1972.

THE COLOGNE GREEK CODEX ABOUT MANI

BY

R. N. FRYE

Cambridge, Mass.

The unrolling and decipherment of the now famous Greek parchment codex from the papyrus collection of the University of Cologne deserves some attention before the final publication of it by Professor Koenen and Dr. Henrichs. Several letters from Dr. Henrichs to me in Shiraz in the summer of 1970 aroused my interest in the first discovered writing of the Manichaeans in Greek, and I wish to thank him for sending me the preliminary account of work upon it.[1] In my opinion, the importance of this codex is enormous, for it puts an end to the theory that Manichaeism by origin was primarily an Iranian mystery religion, a theory proposed and ably defended by Richard Reitzenstein and his school.[2] This viewpoint was natural following the decipherment of Manichaean texts in Iranian languages from Turfan, which, of course, emphasized Mazdaean and other Iranian elements in accordance with the practice of Manichaeans to accommodate their religion to local religious surroundings. The discovery and decipherment of Manichaean Coptic texts from Egypt shortly before World War II helped to correct this belief in the dominant Iranian nature of the religion. The Coptic texts, however, did not receive the attention they merited, and the fragmentary nature of many of them did not tell one enough about the origins of Mani's religion to cause a fundamental revision of views. The new Greek codex, however, fills in this gap, and after the publication of the complete text, it wil be the subject of intense study for years to come.

The codex probably came from a grave in Oxyrhynchos in Egypt,

[1] A. Henrichs und L. Koenen, "Ein Griechischer Mani Codex," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 5 (Bonn, 1970), 97-216.

[2] Cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (Bonn, 1921), and the critique of Reitzenstein by C. Colpe in his *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (Göttingen, 1961), esp. 34-56 and 194-208, as well as the review of Colpe's book by Geo Widengren in the *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 58 (1963), 536-548.

and must be dated to the 5th century A.D. on paleographic grounds.[1] The parchment is very small, 4.5×3.5 cm., and the writing 3.5 long and 2.5 wide with 23 lines to the page, making the booklet extraordinarily small with minuscule writing. The book comprises 8 reams, each of 6 double pages, 192 pages altogether, many of them unfortunately illegible or half destroyed. The first 24 pages are from the hand of one scribe, the rest from a second, and apparently a third scribe corrected the entire codex. The quality of writing, as might be expected in Manichaean texts, is excellent.

The format of the codex is the smallest known of any Greek ms. and it is the first writing of the Manichaeans in Greek as yet found. It was probably used as an amulet, as were comparable Christian writings in Greek (e.g., P. Oxy. 2065, which contains Psalms from the 5-6th centuries). The title of the work is *Πέρι τῆς γέννης τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ* "On the origin of his body," which title is repeated at the top of each double page. It is a text devoted to the life of Mani, his earthly existence (i.e., of his body), so the title is a kind of theological formulation, a genre which could be designated simply "On his life." It was obviously translated from a Syriac original since, for example, Seleucia-Ctesiphon is called "the cities" (Mada'in). So much for the codex.

The new codex gives us both historical and religious information about the first part of the third century which is our concern here. The codex is concerned only with the middle of Mani's life, from the time he was thirteen to twenty-four years old, from his first through his second revelation. Let us turn briefly to a few of the historical contributions of the new codex.

The biography was really a collection of biographical elements in the writings of Mani, excerpted from various Manichaean writings by some followers, with short excerpts also from the New Testament sayings of Paul and Gnostic writings, which the compilers though relevant to the life of their master. There are traces of some of this material in the Iranian and Coptic writings of the Manichaeans, but the Greek codex is the first full biography put together, in a consecutive manner, from various Manichaean traditions and writings. We will discuss more of this below, but let us consider briefly what is written about the second revelation of Mani, where the codex says :

[1] The following information all comes from the preliminary publication (note 1).

> When I became 24 years old, in the year in which the Persian king Dari-Ardashir conquered the city of Hatra, and in which King Shapur, his son, put on the greatest diadem [was crowned] in the month of Pharmuthi, on the day of the moon, my most blessed lord took compassion on me, summoned me to his grace, etc.[1]

Since the absolute dates of Mani are disputed, being based on the regnal years of the first two Sasanian kings, the importance of the Greek codex is obvious. Heretofore the dates of the second revelation of Mani, and the crowning of Shapur, varied from 23 september 239 (Henning) to 22 September 241 (Taqizadeh) as the date of the coronation of Shapur and the "appearance" of Mani as the prophet of a new religion. We are at last in a position to resolve this problem. In short, the capture of Hatra, and the crowning of Shapur as co-ruler with his father, must have taken place on the 12 April 240 (1 Nisan 551). The co-regency lasted until early in 242.

To revert to the text of the codex, we find several problems, the first being the expression Dari-Ardashir which appears only here. Either we have a scribal error, which is unlikely, for an error would be only one or at the most two letters and furthermore no reconstruction would give sense. (The name Gari-Ardashir exists, but in our codex King Ardashir is clearly meant.) Most likely we have an appellative added to the name of Ardashir, possibly by the Syrian compiler of the codex. No likely solution of the appellation comes to mind, but one may propose a number of possibilities from more to less probable. If the pronunciation of MP *drg* "long," could have been ***däri*** at this time, the expression "tall or long Ardashir" might be possible, for MP *drg* gave *dēr* in New Persian. This might mean "tall in stature" or "long (armed)" or the like, or some Iranian dialect might be responsible for the form in our text. A meaning of "courtly," **darīk* is less likely, as is a possible abbreviation of Darius-Ardashir in reference to the great Achaemenid ruler to whom Ardashir was compared. The possibility that the first part is a Semitic word, such as Mandaean *dar-* "epoch," or otherwise, is improbable. In any case, it is some sort of an appellative, added to the name Ardashir.

Second, the expression "day of the moon" seems to indicate an exact date, hardly Hellenic, and we may assume a Babylonian expression from the planet nomenclature of the week "Monday," of the Egyptian month Pharmuthi = Babylonian Nisan 551, which would be 240 of the Julian year, and more specifically either the 13,

[1] Note 1, p. 120.

20 or 27 April 240. More likely than this, the expression means "day of the full moon," which in 240 fell on the 23rd of April (the previous one of 25 March is not possible). Pharmuthi-Nisan was the first month of the harvest, and so possibly it had a theological significance. One can now reconstruct Mani's life as the following :

8 Nisan 527=14 April 216, birth of Mani
530=219/220, entry into the baptismal sect
8 Nisan 539=1 April 228, twelfth birthday
14 Nisan 539=7 April 228, full moon, first revelation
8 Nisan 551=19 April 240, twenty-fourth birthday
13 Nisan 551=24 April 240, full moon, second revelation.

The years of the capture of Hatra and of the crowning of Shapur, which were uncertain previously, are now in our codex identified as the same year and equated with the twenty-fourth year of Mani. The year must be that of Seleucid 551 and not any other year. From other Manichaean texts we knew that Mani was born on 8 Nisan 527 or 14 April 216, so the calculation above can now be considered as accurate. Historically, however, we now know from the codex the date of the conquest of Hatra and of Shapur's coronation as co-ruler with his father, which clarifies the confusion of the sources, some of which put the capture of Hatra under Ardashir while others placed it under Shapur. The "early" chronology for Ardashir, whereby the king only ruled until 239, is now demonstrably false.

Perhaps of more importance than these welcome dates for Iranian history is the religious information to be gained from the new codex. Many scholars have identified the baptismal sect, from which Mani separated, with the Mandaeans. The sect was identified otherwise by Ibn al-Nadim, in his *Fihrist*, one of the first sources on Manichaeism to be published and translated over a century ago. There the founder of Mani's baptism sect was called al-Ḫasiḥ (al-Ksai). Since Jesus is a special hate of the Mandaeans, if Mani had been a follower of that sect, he must have turned about face and made Jesus a central figure in his own religion. Fortunately, the new codex solves this, for according to it Mani left the baptist sect and criticized them for their daily baptisms, since according to the codex the founder of the sect himself had not preached continuous baptism, but rather like the Christians only once. In the codex Mani says : [1]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

Alkhasaios, the founder of your law.
'Αλχασαῖος ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ νομοῦ ὑμῶν

So the sect with which Mani was associated was that of the Elkhasaites. The latter were a sect which believed in a heaven-sent book which was revealed to their founder, probably called al-Ksai, about the time of Trajan (116 A.D.) in the desert area of Jordan. The leader of this sect claimed to have completed the Christian writings. Possibly, as Kurt Rudolph says, it was a Jewish Gnostic sect similar to the Christian sect of the Ebanites. Whether they are to be identified with the Sabians (Σοβίαι) of northern Mesopotamia is, however, uncertain.[1] Both Ebianites and Elkhasaites drew their origin from Christ, but both it is claimed rejected Paul the Greek. Mani, however, or at least his followers who compiled the codex, accepted Paul, as is seen in the new codex.[2] From the new codex it seems as though Mani was a reformer of the sect of the Elkhasaites, who himself approached Pauline Christianity by accepting the message of Paul as part of divine, or at least inspired, writing, whereas most of the Elkhasaites did not accept Paul. Was Mani correct in claiming that the founder of the Elkhasaites followed Paul, or was he putting forth his own view by claiming that he was merely returning to the founder's ideas? Some of the Elkhasaites evidently believed that Mani was a new teacher or prophet, through whom the apostle of light or the new Christ appeared. What influence, if any, these Elkhasaites had on the Pseudo-Clementine writings must be studied, also the relation of the Elkhasaites to James, brother of Jesus, and to St. Thomas. In any case, the importance of the Elkhasaites is greater and their geographical spread more than hitherto supposed.

Thus, from the Cologne codex it is clear that Mani does not attack Aklhasaios, the founder of the sect, but rather a certain leader (*presbyter*) of his time called Sita, who had strayed from the true path of the founder, and furthermore who attacked Mani. Mani saw himself as the "seal of the prophets," the end of a long line which sought to bring the work of revelation and salvation to an end. Jesus had contributed greatly in this task, and Alkhasaios had found a way to better serve the true religion. Mani sought to return to Alkhasaios and develop his work of salvation.

In conclusion, we may say that Mani belonged to a Jewish-Chris-

[1] K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, 1 (Göttingen, 1960), 236.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 114-5.

tian baptismal sect in southern Mesopotamia which he sought to reform, and the Christian elements in Manichaeism are not secondary garnishings from the western branch of the religion, but belong to the very beginning of Manichaeism in Mesopotamia. The Church fathers then were correct in calling Manichaeism a Christian heresy.

GESTURES OF DEFERENCE TO ROYALTY IN ANCIENT IRAN

Iranica Antiqua, Leiden, Brill, Vol. IX 1972

GESTURES OF DEFERENCE TO ROYALTY IN ANCIENT IRAN

Strabo (XI. 13. 9) tells us that the divine reverence shown by subjects to their rulers came to the Persians from the Medes. Undoubtedly much of the symbolism of royalty was also borrowed by the Achaemenid kings from their predecessors. It is not our intention here, however, to catalogue borrowings of royal symbols among various peoples in the Near East; nor can we investigate all of the fascinating details of kingly office in ancient Iran. Such features as the significance of the bow and arrow, of the club or mace (Hercules-Bahram?), and other trappings of royalty, would require extensive monographs of their own. Let us investigate one detail — gestures of deference or 'salute' to royalty in ancient Iran — to discern whether there is a persistence of symbolism which may serve to substantiate the claim to continuity which, it is claimed, is to be found in the literary or oral traditions [1]).

One may approach the subject of gestures either from literary sources or from the monuments which have survived, which is the method followed here. Not that we can ignore written records, but there is considerable dispute especially about the interpretation of various passages in Classical texts regarding the giving of homage, submission, or adoration of the ruler. We are on surer ground, I believe, with representations of the ruler, and those approaching him, found on bas-reliefs and works of art. Much has been written about *proskynesis*, and it is not our intention here to review the theories about the meaning of this word [2]). In my opinion the significance of the word changed from

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1) Cf. my article on "The Charisma of Kingship in Ancient Iran," *Iranica Antiqua*, 6 (1964), 36-54; see p. 40, note 1.

2) For a bibliography of Classical sources, as well as a judicious discussion of *proskynesis* as essentially the gesture of kissing, usually one's own hand, as a sign of veneration, see E. J. Bickerman, "A propos d'un passage de Chares de Mytilene," *La Parola del Passato*, 91 (Naples 1963), 241-255.

Achaemenid to Sasanian times. For the former it seems clear that the act of *proskynesis* did not reflect the divine status of the Achaemenid rulers as proposed by G. Widengren in a discussion of the sacral character of Iranian kingship [1]). This misinterpretation, or deliberate misrepresentation, on the part of the Greeks, of the Achaemenid court ceremonial, has been discussed by others and need not be repeated here [2]).I should like to observe, however, that the cosmic significance of royal protocol and garb, as proposed by some scholars, is not at all apparent, and it may have more reality in twentieth century ideas of how ancient peoples should have thought, than in the reconstruction of ancient beliefs insofar as the evidence warrants.

Our aim here is much more modest; it is essentially to compare two gestures found on bas-reliefs, one of the Achaemenids, the other of the Sasanians, with practices elsewhere in the ancient Near East. Further, we shall investigate whether there is a continuity or identity between the Achaemenid and Sasanian practices. The Achaemenid gesture consisted of the raising of one's right hand with the palm and extended fingers facing the mouth. The Sasanian gesture, on the other hand, was the raised hand with bent forefinger extended, pointing to another person or object (see Pl. XXXIV, 1 and 2). Can we find any precedents for both gestures? Before attempting to answer this we should discuss another gesture which is found in many places and times, the hand raised in the form of the defunct Fascist salute.

The significance of such a common gesture is difficult to determine. In ancient Egypt, however, the outstretched hand (or hands), with the person kneeling or standing, seems to have been the usual sign of reverence before a god [3]). This is also what we find in the few Achaemenid bas-reliefs in which the king is shown before Ahura Mazda. On a royal tomb behind the terrace at Persepolis, one of the later Achaemenid

1) See Widengren, "The Sacral Kingship of Iran," *Numen*, Supplement 4 (Leiden, 1959), 242-257.

2) *Loc. cit.*, 252-253, and Feodora Prinzessin von Sachsen-Meiningen, "Proskynesis in Iran," *apud* F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, 2 (Berlin, 1960), 125-166.

3) See, for example, J. B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (Princeton, 1954), pages 15, 17, 105, 114, etc.

kings is shown standing with one hand raised before the symbol of Ahura Mazda [1]). It is true that the arm is not held up high in supplication, as in the Egyptian reliefs, but there is no outstretched forefinger as we find on the Assyrian representations, to be discussed below. Although other Achaemenid royal reliefs are not as clear in respect to the gesture as those behind Persepolis, nonetheless a close examination of the sculpture of Darius at Behistun, and the sepulchre representations of the Achaemenid kings at Naqsh-i Rustam reveal that they all had the same gesture of raised hand. We know that the Persians, as well as other peoples of the Near East, borrowed from Egypt, for example, the so-called Zoroastrian calendar which may have been introduced from Egypt *ca.* 441 B.C. [2]). The specific gesture of adoration before a deity may be such a borrowing. Or it may be simply a heritage from Indo-Iranian times, before the Iranians arrived on the plateau, although we have no ancient Indian evidence on the matter. In any case, the upraised hand was used by the ruler to show reverence before the deity, and there is no evidence to show that this gesture was employed by subjects towards their ruler.

To turn to the Sasanian gesture of the bent finger, it is a well-known symbol in the ancient Near East. We find it portrayed on a stone sculpture from Ras Shamra, where a priest raises his hand with outstretched forefinger to a seated deity [3]). Similar scenes on Assyrian painted tiles and walls may be found in abundance [4]). Cylinder seals too exist which show a person with outstretched forefinger before a god [5]). The scene is not always the same—a king standing before a god. Sometimes there are several figures, not royal, and they may be standing or kneeling [6]). Furthermore, the figure of a deity may be replaced by his signs or em-

1) F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien* (Berlin, 1922), plates 33-35.

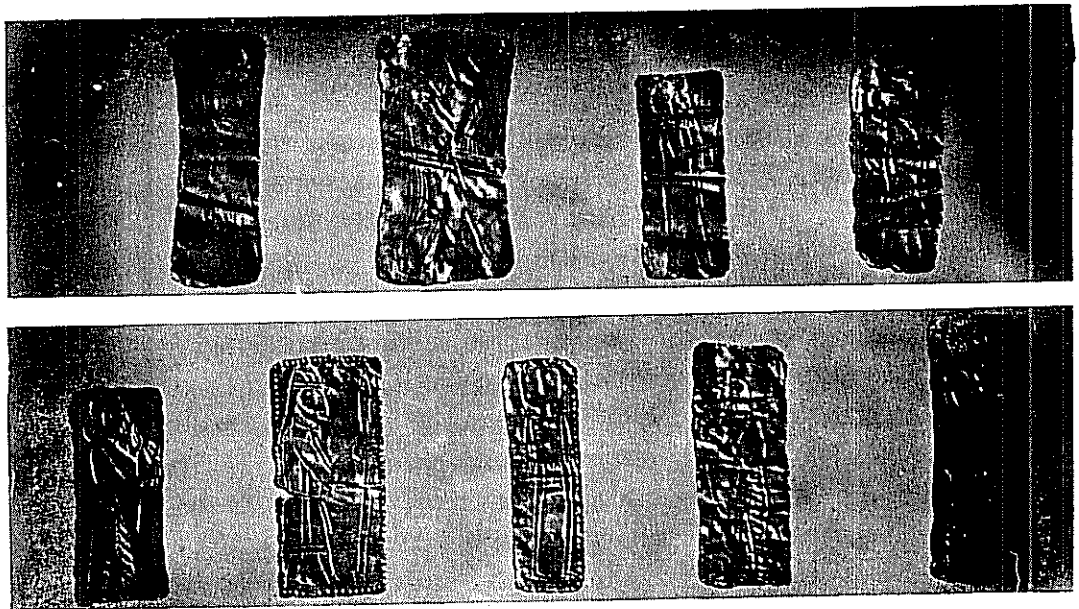
2) Cf. S. H. Taqizadeh, *Old Iranian Calendars* (London, 1938), 30, 57.

3) For the convenience of the reader, references to photographs are made to general illustrated books which are easily accessible and in print. On the Ras Shamra stele see J. B. Pritchard, *op. cit.*, 168, no. 493.

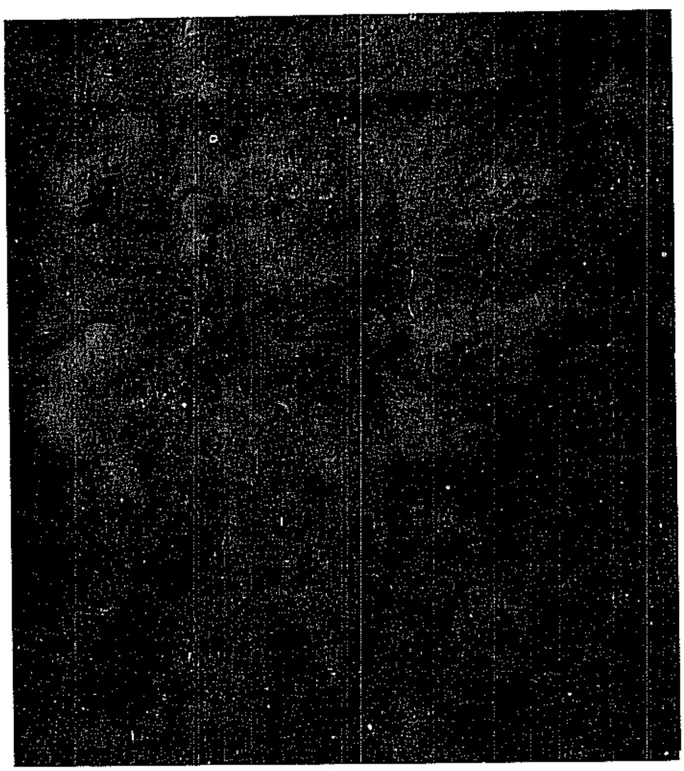
4) *Ibid.*, 180, no. 535, 199, no. 609.

5) E.g., H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (London, 1958), fig. 119a.

6) *Ibid.*, 73b, from early Assyria.



1. Gold plaque from the Oxus Treasure.
(Courtesy of the British Museum)



2. Bishapur, Shapur's triumph over Valerian.
(Courtesy Herzfeld Archives, Freer Gallery, Washington, D.C.)

blems [1]), or merely an altar [2]). We may conclude that the gesture under discussion was widely used, especially by the Assyrians, as a sign of adoration before a deity. There are no pictorial instances, as far as I know, of the gesture being used by anyone before a king.

There is also no evidence that the Achaemenid kings ever used the Assyrian sign of the bent forefinger, so the question naturally arises, what happened to this gesture between the Assyrian and the Sasanian periods of history? In the Sasanian era the extended bent forefinger seems to have been the gesture of homage to the king, whereas the gesture of mere respect at that time is simply crossed arms and hidden hands [3]). On the reliefs from Tang-i Sarvak in southern Iran, dating from the second century A.D., we find courtiers of the ruler with arms crossed in the upper panel and with arms raised in the lower [4]). Unfortunately the sculpture is too crude and weathered to permit us to determine whether the forefingers in the lower panel figures are bent and extended or not. One would hardly suppose that the Sasanians revived a long dead Assyrian gesture. Furthermore, the gesture in Sasanian times was extended to a ruler and not a god.

Generally speaking, titles and protocols tend to depreciate in the course of time, such that expressions used in olden times of royalty, for instance, would become more commonplace later. A good example of this was the title '*beg*', which originally meant 'god' (Iranian *baγa*). In the trial of Afshīn, prince of Usrushana, before the Caliph Mu'tasim in 841, he was accused of using a title meaning 'god of gods', but which really meant 'lord of lords' in the local language [5]). I believe this

1) Pritchard, 153, no. 442, and 156, no. 453.
2) Frankfurt, 73b.
3) Examples of the bent forefinger from Sasanian bas-reliefs are plentiful, such as the acclamation of Bahram I at Naqsh-i Rustam, investiture of Narseh at Naqsh-i Rustam, Naqsh-i Bahram, and others. Examples of the crossed arms are even more numerous. Cf. L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Irān ancien* (Leiden, 1959), plates 80, 87.
4) Cf. W. B. Henning, "The Monuments and Inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak," *Asia Major*, 2 (1952), plate xii.
5) On the trial of Afshīn see E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 1 (London, 1909), 333. In Sogdian the plural was used of deity as well as royalty.

was also the fate of the gesture of bent forefinger, since we find it only used before gods in Assyrian times, while under the Sasanian kings, the gesture appeared as a mark of respect towards royalty. This would seem to be a better explanation than the contention that the gesture in Sasanian times signified that the king occupied the same place as the god of the Assyrian era.

To turn to the other gesture, which we find in Achaemenid times, but not under the Sasanians, several reliefs at Persepolis show an officer with his hand raised to his mouth, palm toward the face, standing before the great king [1]). This gesture too was found in the ancient Near East. Hammurabi's famous stele shows the king standing before a seated god, and the king has his hand to his mouth in the same manner as the attendant before Darius at Persepolis [2]). On two cylinder seals we find worshippers being led by a goddess, before an enthroned god in one instance, and before a king in the other, in both cases with the gesture under discussion [3]). When we come to later times, however, we find controversy. It has been suggested that this gesture was the proper sign of *proskynesis* before the king, and it was essentially a kissing of one's own hand, conforming to the etymology of the Greek word [4]). This may be true for Achaemenid times, which gesture shocked the Greeks, who reserved it for the gods [5]). But, to continue this gesture to Sasanian times, with a turning of the hand and extending of the forefinger, as noted above, is not convincing [6]). That the kissing of one's hand is indicated by *both* the MP words *dastkaš* and *namāč* is even less likely [7]). One should not confuse practices from Achaemenid

1) H. H. von der Osten, *Die Welt der Perser*(Stuttgart 1956), plate 53; Pritchard, 159. The hand upraised before the mouth may be simply an expression of awe or surprise, as among the ancient Hebrews. A special significance is not necessarily implied.

2) Frankfurt, *op. cit.*, plate 65.

3) Pritchard, *op. cit.*, figs. 700-701. The gesture in the second case may refer to the goddess as well as the king.

4) See Altheim, above (note 4), 140.

5) Bickerman, *op. cit.*, 252-253. This gesture was probably used before kings also in ancient Mesopotamia.

6) Altheim, *op. cit.*, 162.

7) For *dastkaš* see Altheim's *Literatur und Gesellschaft*, 2 (Halle, 1950), 274. Fo

and from Sasanian times. I believe Sundermann was correct in assigning *dastkaš* to the folding of one's arms and concealing the hands under the armpits, and *namāč* ('SGDH in the Semitic mask) to bending or prostration [1]). What happened then to the old gesture of raising the hand before the mouth?

I believe Bickerman solves the problem when he shows that Alexander the Great tried to introduce the hand kiss (*proskynesis*) to the Greeks and Macedonians in his new realm but failed, and as a result *la proskynèse de protocole fut finie à jamais* [2]) The sense of *proskynesis*, it would seem, changed from the time of Herodotus to the Byzantine-Sasanian period, which is not unusual.

It is possible that the gesture of the extended, bent forefinger was one form of *namāč burdan*, used by the nobility on certain occasions, in place of the prostration form of *namāč burdan* for the common folk. In any case, I know of no word to describe this gesture. The Semitic word *qls* meaning "to extol, praise," in Syriac *qlš* "to greet a prince with shouts of joy", *qallasa in* Arabic "to acclaim", and others like *kbd*, *rbh*, etc., cannot help us [3]). There is no way of tying a particular word to a special gesture, unless a text clearly specifies the gesture.

In conclusion, we may refer to the later history of the gesture of the pointing finger in Europe, which the scholar whom we honor in this volume so well described [4]). Here is another example of the cultural influence of Iran on the rest of the world, examples which Roman Ghirshman has discovered in his life-long devotion to Iran, which devotion I am happy to share.

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namāč, with *māč* "kiss" (from O. Hansen), see Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, *op. cit.*, 165-166.

1) W. Sundermann, "Zur Proskynesis im sāsānidischen Iran," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, 10 (1964), 275-286, especially 284.

2) Bickerman, *op. cit.*, 254.

3) The examples from Targum literature and the Talmud cited by M. Jastrow in his *Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc. (New York, 1926), 1379, are not explicit enough for our purpose, but they seem to indicate the use of voice rather than gesture to express acclamation. (Semitic scholars tell me that the root *qls* is not an ancient root, perhaps from Greek καλῶς)

4) R. Ghirshman, Iran, ***Parthians and Sasanians*** (London, 1962), 294.

34

PARTHIA AND SASANID PERSIA

Fergus Millar, ed. The Roman Empire and Its Neighbours, London, 1967.

Parthia and Sasanid Persia

The first century of our era was one of great changes in the Parthian state. Although evidence is fragmentary, and overwhelmingly from Greek or Latin authors, nonetheless we can infer the changes from even the sparse data at hand. By the first century the Parthians had passed from an active, offensive policy, which made them the heirs of the Seleucids, to a defensive position against Rome. The aristocracy had won a strong position at the expense of the central authority, which a century previously had been dominant. The process of change, of course, was long in duration, but only in the first century can one see the results of a manifold development. For example, the title in Greek, 'King of Kings', was used sporadically first by Mithradates II (*c.* 123–88 BC) and again by Mithradates III (*c.* 57–54 BC), but during and after the first century it is no longer of exceptional occurrence but a fixed title of the Parthian rulers.[1] Likewise the use of Parthian letters on the coinage, together with Greek, begins in the reign of Vologeses I (*c.* AD 51–80), probably the same monarch to whom the fourth book of the *Denkart*, a later Pahlavi work, attributes the assembly of scattered fragments of the Avesta.[2] Vologeses I also built a new capital for the Parthians, Vologesokerta, north of Seleucia on the Tigris. Furthermore, it is to the first century that we may attribute the reappearance in literary sources of the native names of Iranian cities in place of Greek names, such as Merv for Antiochia Margiane. Finally, the new ideology of the Parthian rulers as descendants of the Achaemenid Artaxerxes II, may be tentatively assigned to the first century BC. This last

development seems to have been widely promulgated in the first century AD as an attempt to strengthen the central government against rebels and against would-be usurpers of the Arsacid throne.[3] The Parthians, of course, had good reasons to consider themselves heirs of the Achaemenids after Carrhae (54 BC) and the raids of Pacorus in Palestine and Syria (40–39 BC). But the need for an ideology of legitimacy and continuity from the past was emphasized especially in the first century AD when troubles, and the breakdown of the central power, led to changes.

The reign of Artabanus III (*c.* AD 12–38) is a convenient period to examine and briefly assess the political changes in the Parthian state. Artabanus was probably a minor ruler of Hyrcania, east of the Caspian Sea, rather than of Atropatene, west of the sea, as is sometimes supposed. In any case, he led a revolt against the Parthian king Vonones who had been sent to Rome by his father Phraates IV and had lived there for more than fifteen years before becoming king *c.* AD 7. After several years of fighting, Artabanus was victorious and entered the capital Ctesiphon about AD 12. His attempts to reassert the central authority of the Parthian state against the nobility were ultimately successful, as we see from the many revolts against him. Josephus (*Ant.* 18, 339) tells of the independent rule of two Jewish brothers in Mesopotamia from about AD 20–35, when the Parthian government was powerless to suppress their robber kingdom and had to recognize it. The instability of the throne was such that Artabanus had to flee to eastern Iran about 36, and a Roman nominee Tiridates III was able to seize power for a few months. Artabanus soon reclaimed the throne and ruled several years until his death, but rebellions continued, including one in the city of Seleucia on the Tigris, which led to the independence of the city for seven years.[4]

One need not describe the political events following the reign of Artabanus, for they are not only confused, but also bear witness to the great disturbances and civil wars within the Parthian state, which for a time was split into an eastern part under Gotarzes II and a western under Vardanes. We should turn our attention to the internal changes in the Parthian realm, always

keeping in mind the political and military events which attest the turmoil of the times.

Since our primary sources for Parthian history are written in Greek or Latin, it is easy to view that history as a series of wars between the Roman Empire and Parthia, with the advantage



Iran in the Parthian and Sasanid period

usually to the former. The overwhelming importance of the Roman Empire, as the successor of the Achaemenid Empire and Alexander the Great, should not obscure the fact that the Parthian state had great problems on its northern and eastern frontiers which were frequently more important or more dangerous to the Parthians than relations with the Romans in the West. The end of the first century AD saw the rise of a powerful, new kingdom in Eastern Iran – the Kushans.

Evidence points to Kanishka as the real founder of Kushan power, the Darius of his empire. Unfortunately, the dates of

Kanishka's reign are unknown, primarily because of the lack of a fixed chronology for Kushan inscriptions. In fact there are several eras in Eastern Iran and North-West India which complicate the picture. The Indian Saka era began about AD 78, following an older Vikrama era which began in 57 BC, and now we have a local Khwarazmian era which began about the time of the Christian era and lasted more than seven hundred years.[5] From these we see that the Seleucid and Parthian eras had several parallels in the east. Whatever the dates of Kanishka, we find that during his reign Iranian legends in Greek characters appear on Kushan coins in place of Greek legends, an indication of a new direction in the cultural development of the Kushan Empire. He was also a great patron of Buddhism and we may suppose that in his time an important Buddhist missionary effort was fostered in Central Asia. It is significant that Chinese sources tell us that one of the chief Buddhist missionaries who came to China in AD 148 was a Parthian prince.[6]

Unfortunately, Parthian relations with the Kushans or with India remain a closed book, and we may only speculate about the numerous and varied coins from Eastern Iran which have survived, but which tell us little about the history of such a vast area. The coins seem to indicate that a number of small 'Indo-Parthian' principalities existed, several of them perhaps as buffer states between the Kushans and Parthians, subject to one or the other power and similar to those on Parthia's western border which are much better known.

It is important to remember that the Parthians never achieved the same degree of strong centralization as their predecessors the Achaemenids or their successors the Sasanids. Some of the semi-independent Parthian dependencies were only cities such as Seleucia and Hatra, while others were large states like Armenia in the north and Persis in the south. Between these two lay others such as Osrhoene around the city of Edessa, Gordyene, Adiabene, Mesene or Characene, and Elymais. It is no wonder that later Arabic and Persian histories characterize this period of history as one of many 'tribal kings', which also serves to explain why it is so difficult to recover the pre-Sasanid history of Iran. The political fragmentation of the Parthian state

is thus the background against which cultural and religious developments should be examined.

As the Parthians moved westward from the Iranian plateau on to the plains of Mesopotamia, the Hellenistic and Near Eastern influences on their culture and art increased. Their earliest capital was in North-Eastern Iran, then came Hekatompylos, probably near modern Damghan, followed by Ecbatana and finally Ctesiphon, although Ecbatana probably remained a summer capital. Ecbatana, modern Hamadan, probably became the Parthian capital under Phraates II (*c.* 138–128 BC), while the town of Nisa, in the Parthian homeland, became a cult-centre – the burial ground of former kings.[7] At Nisa, Soviet archaeologists have discovered many Parthian objects, including over two thousand ostraca (fragments of pottery), dating from 100–13 BC, written in Aramaic, but read as Parthian. The ostraca are primarily concerned with wine and vineyards and attest the importance of wine in ancient Iran, further evidence for which is supplied by the many Dionysian and Bacchanalian motifs on Parthian and Sasanian art objects. Many ivory rhytons were also found at Nisa, some carved with scenes in a purely Classical style, while others show a different, 'Oriental' influence.[8] These two influences are characteristic of early Parthian art.

It is tempting to assign the 'Classical' element in Parthian art to the royal court and the 'Oriental' influences to the nobility. This would coincide with the assumed royal patronage of the cities and the Hellenized population as a counterweight to the local aristocracy. In reality such a cultural division probably never existed, and we may suppose that both styles, if they may be so called, co-existed in both provincial centres and the capital. By the first century AD, however, the 'Classical' style gives way to that art which has come to be known among art historians as typically Parthian art. Two dominant features of this art are frontality, and the motif of the flying gallop. The latter is self-explanatory though not without problems, but the former needs elaboration since it represents such a marked change from both the previous Hellenistic and the contemporary Roman portrayal of the human form.

Frontality in Parthian art means more than the presentation of humans *en face*. A strict symmetry and hieratic aspect of the representation are just as striking as the full face of the figure. In my opinion this art did not 'originate' in Syria, Greece or Parthia, but was a common development all over the Near East about the time of Christ. Only the Graeco-Roman world continued to copy the masterpieces of the Golden Age of Greece, and only when the Oriental religions, including Christianity, spread throughout the Roman Empire did the eastern style also spread. The popularity of frontality parallels the rise of Oriental sects which were for the most part mystery cults concerned with the personal salvation of the individual. Unfortunately, we know next to nothing of religions in the Parthian domains.

If we were to rely on archaeological remains in Iran from the Parthian period, we might infer that cults of Heracles, Dionysus and other Hellenistic deities flourished, most of them probably synthesized with local cults and deities.[10] It is difficult to believe, however, that such cults were more than modern lodges, fraternal orders, or drinking clubs. Both before and after the Parthians the worship of Ahura Mazda flourished in Iran, and we may believe that worship of this god was prominent also under the Parthians. Likewise, it is reasonable to suppose that the religious *malaise* of most of the Near East at this period also extended to Parthia, or at least to lands ruled by Parthians. Judaism, about which we know more than other religions, may be taken as a parallel for other faiths.

Thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls we know that Judaism was far from monolithic and 'normative' at the beginning of our time reckoning. We know now of Essenes as well as Samaritans, followers of John the Baptist and of Jesus. We know of the conversion to Judaism of the royal family of Adiabene in the first century, and of large Jewish colonies in Mesopotamia and undoubtedly elsewhere in the Parthian domains.[11] Gnostic speculation, or the concern with special, intimate knowledge of the secrets of the universe, was widespread not only in Alexandria and Antioch, but surely also in Ctesiphon and farther east. It is most likely that the Mandaeans, who exist even to the present day in Southern Iraq, came into being as a sect in late

Parthian times. We have no information on the origins of the mysteries of Mithraism, Zurvanism and other Iranian movements, and evidence for their existence in Iran is lacking. Suffice it to say that the great popularity of time speculation, mystery religions, gnostic beliefs and saviour cults in the Roman Empire at least must have had echoes among the Parthians.[12]

The first century AD then was a period of change which continued into the second century – which century might be characterized as one of alienation from older forms of religion, society and culture. Furthermore, the Parthian state was at its lowest ebb politically and the Romans several times took advantage of this weakness to invade Mesopotamia. Ctesiphon was taken by Trajan in 115, in 165 by the general Avidius Cassius, and in 198 by Septimius Severus. The Parthians, however, remained throughout this period formidable enemies who inflicted several defeats on Roman armies. The centralization of authority in the Roman Empire contrasted with the opposite tendency under the Parthians, but the latter could frequently count on anti-Roman sentiment and even support at times from the vassal states in Mesopotamia, the Jews, Arabs or others in the Near East. We learn from Latin sources that both the mailed heavy cavalry (*cataphracti*) of the Parthians and the light armed cavalry, with bows and arrows, were feared by the Romans. The 'Parthian shot', whereby a fleeing horseman turned in his saddle and shot an arrow at his pursuers, aroused special attention among the Romans. It seems clear from Strabo, Tacitus and other writers, that the Romans considered the Parthian state as a worthy imperial rival to the Roman Empire.

The demand for luxury items from the East in the Roman Empire was a boon to merchants in Parthian lands as well as elsewhere, and the result of the trade in spices, perfumes and other luxuries was the growth of caravan cities such as Petra, Palmyra, Hatra and Charax on the Persian Gulf. Under the Parthians trade was maintained with China as well as the Roman Empire, and the direct Roman contact with India and the Kushan Empire was probably fostered by economic reasons, and the use of the monsoon winds by sailors, rather than because of political differences with Parthia. It is probable that during

the long Parthian period of rule in Iran, many plants, fruits and products were exchanged between Europe and the Far East. For example, the pomegranate probably came to China from Iran in this period, while the peach and apricot came the other way.[13] The discovery of an ancient carpet in excavations in Siberia indicates the age-old pre-eminence of Iran in the art of rug making, further attested by embassies to China which brought lovely rugs and brocades as presents.[14] In short, we may assume that the artistic workshops of Iran continued to flourish under the Parthians, although their products may not be pleasing to many modern eyes.

The Parthian period was important in the history of Iranian literature. It is true that we have no contemporary productions save a few inscriptions, but traces of Parthian influence in later New Persian literature are not uncommon. It has been mentioned that the Parthian period is known in Arabic and New Persian literature as a dark age of many tribal kings. Yet the bulk of the *Shāhnāme* or 'Book of Kings', codified in verse by Firdosi, at the beginning of the eleventh century, reflects the tales, the chivalry and the mores of the Parthian era. I suspect that histories were not written under the Parthians but rather epic stories were sung by bards or minstrels called *gōsān* (Armenian *gusan*).[15] Although the Ashkanian (Arsacid) rulers, as the Parthians are known in New Persian, are given only a few lines in the national epic by Firdosi, the stories of previous rulers surely reflect the 'feudal' character of Parthian times, just as the hero Rustam reflects Heracles. The lack of reliable data, however, makes scholarly work in this area difficult and speculative.

The cumbersome system of writing Parthian was undoubtedly an important factor in the lack of records from the time of the Parthians. We have mentioned that the Aramaic language and script remained the vehicle of writing the Parthian language at least through the first century AD (parchment from Avroman and ostraca from Nisa). The Aramaic, it must be emphasized, was read as Parthian in Iran. By the third century, however, we find the Parthian language in semi-phonetic form written in characters derived from Aramaic, yet with many Aramaic 'ideograms' or 'masks', as attested by the inscriptions of the early

Sasanid rulers. In the same period, however, we find written Parthian, yet with many Aramaic ideograms, as attested by the inscriptions of the early Sasanid rulers. What happened in the second century to the system of writing? The most reasonable explanation is the decline in the number of scribes all over Parthian territory who could write traditional Aramaic. This decline was surely a continuous process from the time of the Nisa ostraca to the third century. We are only missing documentation from the second century to show the continuity which we must infer. The Orientalization of the Parthians, at the expense of Hellenism, may have contributed to the development of the Parthian system of writing as we know it from the third century, but this can be only speculation.[16]

The third century saw another series of changes in the Near East which completely reversed the roles of Iran and the Roman Empire, not to mention the new religious, artistic and other cultural developments. Fortunately our documentation increases enormously, for the Sasanids seem to have been conscious of their historical role to a much greater extent than the Parthians. Not only do we have classical sources on the rise of the Sasanids but also Iranian inscriptions, and later Pahlavi books, plus Arabic, Armenian, Syriac and New Persian books which preserve earlier traditions. One might say that the third century marks the beginning of a widespread literary activity in the Near East in many languages. If anything, the third century is even more important than the preceding centuries as the era of culmination of the changes previously in process.

The fall of the dynasty of the Arsacids to a rebel in Persis, the present Fars province, had many repercussions. The pressure of Roman arms on the Parthians must have contributed in some measure to a weakening of the Parthian state, but even more the internal divisions prepared the way for the Sasanids. The Parthian king Vologeses v had a rival in Artabanus v, but we do not know which areas were controlled by each ruler. An inscription from Susa dated 215, shows that Artabanus was recognized there as suzerain, while at least some of the time Vologeses ruled Ctesiphon and the north.[17]

The invasion of Parthian territory in 216 by Caracalla

coincided with the revolt of Ardashir the son of Papak, a vassal of the Parthians, in Persia. There are a number of accounts of the rise of Ardashir, an official version as found in Imperial inscriptions and in some later histories, a romantic folk version, reflected in the Pahlavi *Kār nāmak*, or 'book of deeds', of Ardashir, and in later Arabic works, and finally a Roman or enemy version. Needless to say, the first should be accepted as the most reliable, even with its exaggerations or pride in the dynasty, for it alone has contemporary documentation in edicts carved on stone.[18]

An inscription of Shapur, son of Ardashir, on a pillar from the excavations of the city of Bishapur, gives the date of the inscription in three forms: 'the year 58, of the fire of Ardashir, the year 40, of the fire of Shapur, the king of fires, the year 24'. Unfortunately, the dates of the early Sasanid kings are uncertain so we cannot determine the precise date of the inscription. One group of scholars supports 224 as the date Artabanus was finally defeated and killed by Ardashir, while another maintains 226, which date is now more popular. If the date of the fire of Ardashir is 226, then the Bishapur inscription was inscribed in 266. The term 'fire' probably means the beginning of a reign, or some important event, when a special fire was started and always kept burning to symbolize the reign or event.[19]

Papak ruled in Istakhr, near the ruins of Persepolis, while his son Ardashir held sway under him in Gor or modern Firuzabad south-east of Shiraz. Shapur, the eldest son of Papak, succeeded his father, but Shapur was killed in an accident and Ardashir became ruler of Persia possibly in 208, the first date of the Bishapur inscription. Ardashir consolidated his power and conquered the neighbouring districts of Kirman, Isfahan and Elymais before turning to his Parthian overlord. The struggle with Artabanus seems to have lasted about three years, but even after the death of Artabanus the Parthians continued the struggle and finally some of the Arsacid princes took refuge in Armenia where a collateral line of the Parthian royal family ruled until 428.

While it has been a commonplace among scholars to speak of the abrupt change from a feudal, fragmented state of the

Parthians to a centralized monarchy of the Sasanians, this process must have extended over a fairly long period. We know from inscriptions that Shapur considered himself a king over many kings, the names of some of whom are given. The old and important title of *satrap* had declined in significance until by Sasanian times it meant the equivalent of the mayor of a city and surrounding areas. The increase in titles at the court, evidence of a bureaucracy in formation, does remind us that the Sasanids were not just continuing Parthian institutions. Much remains to be done in the study of the varied Sasanian titulary and bureaucracy which should clarify many aspects of the question of the nature of the Sasanian state.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the new Sasanian state was its relation to religion. Thirty years ago, before the decipherment of the inscriptions of the high priest Kartir, little was known about the Zoroastrian religion at the beginning of Sasanian times. One tradition, found in later writings, claimed that a priest called Tansar had renovated the Zoroastrian religion at the command of Ardashir. Now, thanks to four inscriptions of the priest Kartir, we know more about the beginnings of the state church of Sasanid Iran. It has been suggested that Kartir should be identified with Tansar, but there is no evidence for this. Fortunately the four inscriptions, though not identical, correspond in parts, two being longer than the others, and thus they aid each other in reconstructing the message of Kartir to posterity. From his inscription at present-day Sar Mashhad, we learn that his full name was Kartir Hangirpe.[20]

His real career began under Shapur I, in whose inscription Kartir's name is found far down the list of notables at the Imperial court, with the title the *herbad*. Other evidence points to the meaning of *herbad*, at this time, simply as 'priest', one who was in charge of the cult and recitations. Kartir's position as court priest must have aided his rise, for he accompanied Shapur on his conquests in Western Asia, and probably was his spiritual, and general, adviser. In his inscription, carved on the same structure as the great inscription of Shapur – the Qab'ah of Zoroaster at Naqsh-i-Rustam – Kartir tells of his elevation to a high position of authority by Shapur, and how he,

Kartir, created new fire temples and helped to spread Zoroastrianism throughout the empire. Furthermore, he tells how he installed new fires and priests in territories outside of Iran, including Eastern Anatolia and the lands of the Caucasus. This new evidence for Zoroastrian missionary activity in Cilicia, Cappadocia, and elsewhere outside of Iran confirms the sparse literary evidence that Magi and 'Zoroastrian' cults existed inside the Roman Empire.

Kartir rewarded co-operative priests and punished those of heretical views. Kartir later initiated a pogrom against Jews, Buddhists, Hindus, indigenous Christians (called Nasoreans), Greek Christians (from Antioch?), called *Krstydan* in the inscription, Mandaeans (*Mktky*) and Manichaeans (*Zndyky*).[21] The remarkable inscriptions of Kartir reveal many new aspects of Zoroastrianism, with a multitude of details which need prolonged study to elucidate their significance.

The chronicle of the continued rise of Kartir is fascinating to follow in the inscriptions. Ohrmazd, son of Shapur (272–3) gave him a new title, Ahura Mazda *maaupat*, 'leader of the Magi for the god Ahura Mazda', and increased his power and influence. As a sign of this he conferred a special cap and belt on him. Under Varahran I, brother of Ohrmazd (273–6), his privileges were confirmed and his authority increased. Varahran II (276–93), however, raised him even higher by giving Kartir a rank and station among the high nobility, thus elevating a priest to the highest social rank. He further made Kartir the chief priest and judge of all the empire. Although the title is not mentioned, this is surely the beginning of the office of *mobadanmobad*, literally 'chief priest of chief priests', parallel to 'king of kings'. Further, Kartir was placed in charge of the chief fire temple of the Empire at Istakhr, the homeland of the Sasanian dynasty, and sacred to the goddess Anahita, the patron saint of Ardashir, founder of the Sasanian Empire. To add to his appellations, Varahran gave him the personal epithet 'the soul-saviour of Varahran', indicating the close personal relationship between the priest and the king.

Kartir was not modest, for he continues to relate how he instituted many fires for his own house, presumably relatives

a... followers, and how he was always of great service to his religion as well as his king and himself. It should be mentioned that, under King Varahran I, the name Kartir does appear in Manichaean literature as a persecutor of Mani. In the Coptic Homilies this same person is called Kardel, in a Turfan Parthian fragment *qγdyr*, and in a Turfan Middle Persian fragment *kyrdyr*, son of Ardavan (Artabanus).[22]

While one cannot continue in detail studying the history of at least two Kartirs, only one of which is the important figure who made the inscriptions, one more item deserves our attention, for it is different from the above notices. In his inscriptions at Naqsh-i-Rajab, Naqsh-i-Rustam (behind the horse of Shapur), and Sar Mashhad, Kartir gives a personal credo, remarkable for its simplicity and directness. He says that both heaven and hell exist and the good person goes to heaven after death, the bad one to hell. But the doer of good will also be rewarded in this life by peace of mind and happiness. Furthermore, the performance of rites and rituals is essential for salvation. In very poorly preserved passages of the Sar Mashhad inscription we obtain glimpses of some personal experiences of Kartir, a kind of *apologia pro vita sua*, with a certain quality like the story of Paul's conversion on the road to Damascus, or even Dante's descent into hell. Kartir wanted his name preserved for posterity, and the remarkable priest succeeded well in his aim.

We do not know what happened to Kartir, for his name is last mentioned in one of the inscriptions of Narseh at Paikuli, but in an unclear context which does not permit us to discern his fate. His name did not survive in later literary sources, so one suspects that there was some opposition to Kartir or to his work. His inscriptions, however, were not defaced or altered, which custom did obtain in Sasanid Iran.[23] There may be some reason other than merely opposition, maybe even trivial, which kept his name from literary sources, for his work of organization and building the Zoroastrian church as a partner of the government certainly did not cease.

The growth of the Sasanian church probably was spurred by competition from the religions mentioned above, which Kartir attacked. Perhaps the most threatening competitor was

Manichaeism, even though the others also engaged in missionary activities. Indications point to the rise of Manichaeism as the symbol of the new age which may be one reason why it was so hated by adherents of other religions. Manichaeism was a gnostic, synthetic religion, created by Mani, whose exact dates are uncertain but who flourished in the middle of the third century. He composed the books of recitation and reading for his followers and ordered them translated into all languages. Manichaeism has been compared with contemporary Bahaism and there are interesting points of similarity, but we cannot here discuss matters of doctrine and theology. Suffice it to say that the Manichaean insistence on the importance of writings, while it was hardly the origin of the concept of a religion with a holy book, seems to have had a strong influence at least on the Zoroastrians. The Avesta was collected and put in order, probably several times, under the Sasanians. A similar process began with the formation of the Talmud and other writings by the Jews in Mesopotamia, while the followers of other religions well may have engaged in similar activities in this time.

It is clear that the later medieval pattern of religions in the Near East was being set in the third century. This is the time of Origen and other church writers. It is also the time of the formation of religious communities, the exilarch (*resh galutha*) of the Jewish diaspora in Sasanian domains, and the grouping of the Christian church in Mesopotamia under bishops, with a systematic organization. The same was true of the Manichaean community, and others. Religions were organized on state or military lines to enable them to survive. The later minority, or *millet* system of the Islamic world, in which each religious minority lived under a supreme chief who was responsible to the central Islamic government for all of his community, seems to have come into existence in the third century in the Sasanian Empire. Although evidence is still circumstantial, many signs point to this development at this time. In other words, it appears that the Sasanians were blazing the trail for many institutions of the later Near East, whereas the Romans still clung to the glory that was Greece and the grandeur of the early empire. The pre-eminence of Iran in the middle of this

century is nowhere better indicated than on the field of battle. For the first time a Roman emperor was taken prisoner by the Persians. Although Ardashir had clashed with the Romans in the consolidation of his empire, it was left to his son Shapur to inflict the greatest defeat suffered by the Romans at the hands of their eastern enemies.

We can now compare Roman sources with the trilingual inscription (Greek, Parthian and Middle Persian – the language of the Sasanians) of Shapur on the Qa'bah of Zoroaster, which provides a beautiful example of facts represented in different ways by the Romans and the Persians.[24] For the former the Sasanians opened the war and the Emperor Gordian III had to repulse the attack of the enemy. According to Shapur, Gordian attacked him. In this case Shapur seems to have started a campaign not against Rome but against several small independent states, and about 241 Shapur captured Hatra which had withstood successfully previous Roman and Parthian attempts to capture it. He then turned to Osrhoene which submitted, and it is this event which probably incited the Romans. In a great battle, according to Shapur, the Emperor was killed and the new Emperor Philip the Arab sued for peace. The battle site of the Euphrates was renamed Peroz-Shapur 'victory of Shapur', later al-Anbar. Shapur says Philip paid half a million *denarii* as ransom but the Roman sources naturally are silent about this.

The second war began with the treachery of the Romans over Armenia, again according to Shapur. The Sasanians then annihilated a Roman army of 60,000, which is not recorded by Roman sources, after which they ravaged Syria and Cappadocia, capturing the eastern capital of Antioch and many other cities. The date of this expedition is much disputed, some scholars suggesting two campaigns in 253 and 256. Two events seem to point to 256 as more likely; one is the final capture of the Roman fortress on the Euphrates, Dura-Europus, by the Sasanians, and the other is the captivity of the bishop of Antioch, Demetrianus, which may be dated to 256 when his rule over Antioch ended.[25] There are still many unsolved problems but the events best seem to have followed the above chronology.

In the third war, when Shapur was besieging Edessa and Carrhae, the Emperor Valerian attacked. In the ensuing battle Valerian was captured personally by Shapur, according to the inscription, and the praetorian prefect and many other high Roman officers were also captured. This was probably in 260, after which the Persians again captured Antioch and many other cities of Cappadocia, Cilicia and Syria. Many captives were made and settled in the modern provinces of Fars and Khuzistan. The rest of the inscription of Shapur is concerned with the royal family and the court, which is of great importance for Sasanian history, but which cannot be discussed here.

The great influx of war prisoners had some interesting consequences, for the Christian communities in Southern Mesopotamia and Iran began from this settlement. Some prisoners were settled in a new city called 'Better than Antioch has Shapur (made this)', later the famous intellectual centre of Gundeshapur. Prisoners also built dams on the Karun River at present-day Tustar and Ahwaz, remains of which may still be seen. Finally, evidence of perhaps Antiochene influence may be discerned in the mosaics of Bishapur showing faces or more likely masks taken from the cult of Dionysus. Other effects of the influx of prisoners cannot be detected easily but undoubtedly existed.[26] Shapur commemorated his great victory by carving several large rock reliefs showing his victory over Valerian. It must have been a memorable event for the Sasanians, for it was not forgotten in later writings.

We have mentioned the church and the wars of Shapur, but now we can turn briefly to the state ideology of the Sasanians. In the inscriptions Papak is called a king, Ardashir king of kings of Iran, while Shapur and his successors are each king of kings of Iran and non-Iran (*Aneran*). This was a clear claim to universal rule, a return, perhaps not consciously, to the one-world of the Achaemenids. The process of centralization was hastened by the absorption of local dynasts and the replacement of them with members of the Sasanian ruling family. The concept of legitimacy was firmly established, so that allegiance to the house of Sasan was accepted everywhere in the empire, and only rebels who were members of the Sasanian family had any

chance of success. The crown prince was usually made a king over an important area such as Gilan and Mazanderan on the Caspian Sea, or the East, to which we should turn.

The Kushans had been able to hold their own against the Parthians, but under Ardashir and Shapur the *Kushanshahr*, as the Kushan state is called in Shapur's great inscription, became subject to the Sasanians. The Kushan territory is described as extending from the plain of Peshawar, in modern Pakistan, to Tashkent in Soviet Central Asia, and to the borders of Kashgar in Chinese Turkistan, an enormous area which may have been more nominally than actually under the Kushans. For a long period the continuous nomadic threat to Iran from the north-east was ended and the powerful new Sasanian Empire re-established the borders of the old Achaemenid Empire in the east. This re-assertion of Persian power in the east, in place of the fragmented Parthian state, laid the foundations for the penetration of West Iranian cultural influences into Eastern Iran, which, after the fall of the Sasanian Empire, was to continue under the aegis of Islam until the New Persian language replaced the older Sogdian, Khwarazmian, Parthian and Bactrian languages as the predominant language of the entire Iranian world.[27] A short digression on the question of the division between Eastern Iran and Western Iran in the Sasanid period may be profitable.

Eastern Iran, east of the central deserts today called Lut and Kavir, was the homeland of the Parthians as well as other Iranian peoples mentioned above. Here separatist tendencies were strong, as well as local feudal cultures. This entire area was difficult for the Sasanians to control, and especially to integrate into their empire primarily based in Western Iran. So the military forces of the Sasanians were divided between the western frontier against the Romans, and their sometime allies the Alans, north of the Caucasus, as well as the Armenians, and the eastern frontier primarily against nomadic peoples from Central Asia, as well as against insurgent Kushans. In the third century the strong Sasanian kings were able to defend the eastern frontier and establish their rule on a firm basis.

In the wars with Rome the Persians may have had in mind

permanent conquests, but the resources of the Sasanians were not so great. Furthermore, the local inhabitants of the Fertile Crescent of Mesopotamia and Syria hardly preferred the Persians to the Romans as rulers. It was Odenathus, then his wife Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, who stepped into the vacuum caused by the temporary impotence of Rome in the Near East. For almost twelve years Palmyra dominated the Syrian and Mesopotamian frontiers of the Roman and Sasanian Empires until the Emperor Aurelian brought an end to Palmyra in 272. Iran during this period seems to have been exhausted, or at least concerned with internal affairs. Armenia, under an Arsacid dynasty, continued to remain a thorn in the side of the Sasanians and their hostilities never really ended.

The Romans soon recovered, and the Emperor Carus invaded Mesopotamia and captured Ctesiphon with little opposition, but his mysterious death at the end of 283 caused the Roman army to return home. It seems that the Sasanian king Varahran II was engaged in suppressing a rebellion of his brother in the East.

We have a complete set of Sasanian coins, which differ from the preceding Parthian coins in being flat and based on a different weight standard. On the coins we find characteristic crowns on the busts of the different kings, such that these distinctive crowns enable the student to identify the rulers portrayed on wall carvings, on silver vessels, or other works of art.[28] Sasanian art is also very distinctive, again differing from the previous period. The frontality, symmetric and rigid portrayal of humans give way to profiles and the desire to tell a story. As always in Iranian art, decoration is an overwhelming principle. The later Islamic concern with geometrical designs and stylized flowers, and the like, had its prototypes in Sasanian art. Indeed the continuity between the Sasanians and early Islam is far more impressive than that between the Parthians and the Sasanians. Certainly there was a carry-over even between Parthian and Sasanian art, for example the flying gallop motif, but the new Sasanian culture was unmistakably distinctive.

The survival of many Sasanian silver bowls and cups from the third century, as well as superbly carved seals and other minor works of art, emphasizes not only the change from the past, but

also the splendour and wealth of the new rulers. The monarch gave silver plates or bowls as presents to favourites after drinking parties, and the third-century specimens are masterpieces of art. The conscious attempt to impress and dazzle is ever present in these productions of imperial art.

So the third century AD in a sense marked the end of antiquity and the beginning of the 'Middle Ages' in Iran. Later the reforms of Diocletian were to have an influence in the neighbouring Sasanid state, but the early Persian rulers were confident of their own prowess to change the face of Iran and to create a culture and civilization which was a worthy competitor of the Roman Empire. The influence of the Sasanians was to extend far beyond the Iranian plateau, and was to continue for many decades after the fall of the Sasanids in the seventh century AD.

TENTATIVE GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ARSACID KINGS

1. Arsaces I (*'ršk*) 247–?
2. Tiridates (*tyrdt*) *c.* ?–211 BC
3. Artabanus I (*'rtpn*) *c.* 211–191 BC
4. Priapatius (*prypt*) *c.* 191–176 BC
5. Phraates I (*prdh* or *prdty*) *c.* 176–171 BC
6. Mithradates I (*mtrdt*) *c.* 171–138 BC
7. Phraates II *c.* 138–128 BC
8. Artabanus II *c.* 128–123 BC
9. Mithradates II *c.* 123–87 BC
10. Gotarzes I (*gwtrz*) *c.* 91–87? BC
11. Orodes I (*wrwd*) *c.* 80–77 BC
12. Sinatrukes (*sntrwk*) *c.* 76–69 BC
13. Phraates III *c.* 69–57 BC
14. Mithradates III *c.* 57–55 BC
15. Orodes II *c.* 57–37 BC
16. Phraates IV *c.* 38–2 BC
17. Tiridates II *c.* 30–25 BC
18. Phraataces (*prdtk*) *c.* 2 BC–AD 4
19. Orodes III *c.* AD 4–7.

20. Vonones I (*whwnm?*) *c.* AD 7–12
21. Artabanus III *c.* AD 12–38
22. Tiridates III *c.* AD 36
23. Vardanes (*wrt'n*) *c.* AD 39–47
24. Gotarzes II (*qwtrz*) *c.* AD 38–51
25. Vonones II *c.* AD 51
26. Vologeses I (*wlgs*) *c.* AD 51–80
27. Artabanus IV *c.* AD 80–1
28. Pakores (*pkwr?*) *c.* AD 79–115
29. Oroses *c.* AD 109–28
30. Vologeses II *c.* AD 105–47
31. Mithradates IV *c.* AD 128–47?
32. Vologeses III *c.* AD 148–92
33. Vologeses IV *c.* AD 191–207
34. Vologeses V *c.* AD 207–27?
35. Artabanus V *c.* AD 213–26?
36. Artavasdes (*'rtwzd*) *c.* AD 226–7?

THE DYNASTY OF THE SASANIANS

1. Papak King (208–22?)
2. Shapur King (222?)
3. Ardashir King of Kings (226?–41?)
4. Shapur King of Kings (241–72?)
5. Hormazd Ardashir (272–3)
6. Varahran I (273–6)
7. Varahran II (276–93)
8. Varahran III (293)
9. Nerseh (293–302)
10. Hormazd II (302–9)
11. Shapur II (309–79)
12. Ardashir II (Brother?) (379–83)
13. Shapur III (383–8)
14. Varahran IV (388–99)
15. Yazdagird I (399–420)
16. Varahran V (420–39)
17. Yazdagird II (439–57)
18. **Hormazd III (457–9)**

19. Peroz (459–84)
20. Valash (484–8)
21. Kavad (488–531)
22. Zamasp (496–8)
23. Khusro I (531–79)
24. Hormazd IV (579–90)
25. Varahran Chobin (590–1)
26. Khusro II (590–628)
27. Kavad II (628)
28. Ardashir III (628–9)
29. Boran (629–30)
30. Hormazd V, Khusro III (630–2?)
31. Yazdagird III (632–51)

IRAN AND ISRAEL IN ANTIQUITY

Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute,
No. 44, Bombay 1973

LECTURE NO. I*

Iran and Israel in Antiquity *

RICHARD N. FRYE

In a recent article, I gave a short survey of the relations between ancient Iran and Israel.[1] There I stressed several points about the contacts between the two religions; first, that Judaism at the earliest came into contact with Persian beliefs primarily in Babylonia, probably for the most part in second-hand or syncretic forms. Second, one must distinguish between general beliefs such as dualism, or angelology, and more detailed parallels such as the image of the bridge which the soul must cross after death in both religions. The only reliable category of comparison to my mind, however, is a third category in which words are borrowed to express the more detailed parallels. One could give as an example the Iranian words regarding law borrowed by the Jews and found in the Talmud. I further stressed that one cannot rely either on vague similarities or parallels, or, on the other hand, the argument of accidental agreement. I believe Judaism did borrow many conceptions directly or indirectly from Iran but cannot see how one can prove this, given the difficulty of dating Iranian sources as well as the books of the Bible.[2] Here I wish to further investigate the possibility of detailed parallels between Jewish and Iranian beliefs.

That the Jews and Persians did come in contact in Babylonia in Achaemenid times may be assumed as historical fact.[3] The book of Isaiah, chapter 45, seems to be an attempt to show the superiority of Jewish monotheism over Iranian dualism, especially in verse 7 where the Lord says "I form the light and create darkness. I make peace and create evil. I the Lord do all these things". The book of Daniel seems to show a number of Iranian influences including, for example, the Iranian loanword *raz* "mystery" 2, 18, also found in the Dead Sea

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* *Government Research Fellowship Lectures for* 1965, *delivered under the auspices of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute.*

Scrolls. But what can one make of such matters? Are the ideas of the Divine Kingdom and the Messiah or Saviour in Judaism derived from Iran? Reasonably one might propose that they, and other such concepts, did come from Iran, but not even such general rules of thumb as "if a concept is found in the Vedas as well as Iran it is probably Indo-Iranian in origin, or if it is found in various Semitic languages, it is probably Semitic in origin", help us to progress. Given the changes which occur in the transmission of fables of fairy tales from one people to another, in the domain of folklore, or even words in the realm of comparative philology, how much more difficult is it to trace the migration of religious concepts?

The best method to follow, in my opinion, is to test the criteria for borrowing through words, as suggested above, to go from the known to the less known. It is agreed that Iranian law had a great influence on the Jews, which is not unexpected since the Jews lived under Persian laws. For the Sassanian period this is not difficult to demonstrate since we have many Middle Persian words in the Talmud relating to law. The late Bernhard Geiger elucidated many of them in the supplement volume to the *Aruch* dictionary.[4] For the Achaemenid period, however, the evidence is not so copious but one may presume an influence even at that time. We know that Darius ordered the laws of Egypt to be revised (Diodorus I.95.4), and the "laws of the Medes and Persians" were famous throughout the ancient world. What were the influences on the Jews?

The first and most obvious borrowing is the word for law itself, *dat,* widely spread among the Semitic languages, and the judge or *databar* found in Daniel 3, 2, as well as in Akkadian and elsewhere. In Daniel 2, 5 we find another legal term *hdmyn,* the nasal having fallen from **handaman,* meaning "limb", in the phrase to dismember a person as a punishment. In Ezra 7, 26 we find *dt' dy mlk'* "law of the king", and *srsw* "punishment", also in an Aramaic document from Egypt in the form *srwsyt',* to be compared with Middle Persian *sros* and Avestan *sraosya.*[5] Other words from the same Aramaic collection, *gst*

ptgm with the meaning of reprimand, or the like, and *zyny* "injury, damage" possibly are also legal terms.[6] In another collection of Aramaic letters from Egypt we have more Iranian trerms referring to legal transactions, *hngyt, hnbg* and *'drng,* the first two some kind of partnerships and the last a kind of obligation.[7] The Iranian words from which these were taken were studied and elaborated by J. P. de Menasce in a review of the book above.[8] From the above words it is abundantly clear that Iranian law had an influence on the Jews, just as on other peoples of the Near East.

The titles of officials who administered the laws were also for the most part Iranian, as *databar* mentioned above. A judge or kind of police official is the *tpty'* (pl.) also in Daniel 3, 2, and in an Aramaic papyrus *typty'.*[9] This last word was explained by Andreas and Henning as *tayu-pata* "one who protects from thieves", or as "*Oayha-pati* "chief of proclamation" by Benveniste.[10] Until new sources for this word are found, one can only accept a general meaning of officers of some kind.

From the few remarks above, it is clear that Iranian law did influence the Jews. The word *dat* continued in use in Talmudic times, as did *patgam,* (h)*anbag* and others, while new words were added such as *pursis namag,* a "record of judicial investigation." In short, we may claim a *continuing* influence of Iranian law on the Jews. When we compare the similar influences in Armenian and Syriac, we may further tentatively conclude that the Iranians influenced much of the Near East over a long period of time in the legal domain. This fits in well with various remarks about Persian concern with law found in many historical sources.[11]

Can one now pass from the legal to the religious realm? Theoretically, one might be able to show legal influence in the developing structure of a religion, but I must confess to failure in this attempt. A fruitful line of investigation would be the Qumran community which produced the Dead Sea Scrolls, but the Iranian words in the Dead Sea Scrolls do not help with this question. One might say that until a comparable discovery is

made to the east of the Syrian desert, we cannot advance our knowledge in this area. In conclusion, one may postulate Iranian influence on Judaism from the time of Cyrus well into the Sassanian period, but the elucidation of such influences or the proof of them are not easy matters.

NOTES

*I use Iran in the widest sense of all peoples speaking Iranian languages while Persian and Persia are restricted to the country of which the present capital is Tehran.

1. *Festsrchrift fur Wilhem Eilers,* ed. G. Wiesner (Wiesbaden 1967), 74-84.
2. Erik Stave in his book *Uber den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum* (Haarlem 1898) postulated an extensive influence of Iranian Dualism on post-exilic Judaism, while E. Boklen, *Die Verwandstschaft der judisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie* (Gottingen 1902), and N. Soderblom, *La vie future d'apresle Mazdeisme* Paris 1902), emphatically deny any influence.
3. The earliest information about contacts between Jews and Iranians comes from the Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B.C. from Elepahantine.
4. A. Kohut, *Additamenta ad Librum Aruch Completum,* rev. by S. Krauss (New York 1955).
5. G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford 1954), letter 3, line 6, p. 15.
6. *Ibid.,* letter 4, line 3, p. 17, and letter 12, line 8, p. 34
7. E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (Yale U. Press, New Haven 1953), letter 5, line 5, p. 184, and letter 9, line 18, p. 243.

8. "Mots d'imprunt et Noms propres Iranien dans les nouveaux documents Arameens," *Bibliotheca Orientalis,* 11 (1954), 161-2.

9. A Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford 1923), letter 27, 9, p. 102.

10. "Mitteliranische Manichaica us Chinesisch-Turkestan," *Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.* (Berlin 1933) 359, and "Terme et noms achemenides en arameen," *Journal Asiatique* 2 (1934), 185-6.

11. Cf. for example A. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago 1948), 119-134, chapter entitled "A New Lawgiver."

May Sraosha (Obedience to the will of the Lord) conquer disobedience within this house, and may peace triumph over discord here, and generous giving over averice, reverence over contempt, speech with truthful words over lying utterance! May the Rigteous Order gain the victory over the Demon of the Lie!

Yasna LX, 5

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METHODOLOGY IN IRANIAN HISTORY

Neue Methodologie in Der Iranistik heraus-
gegeben von Richard N. Frye, Wiesbaden
1974

METHODOLOGY IN IRANIAN HISTORY

The question of methodology in history may seem superfluous or even irrelevant to the general study of the past. Some scholars deny the existence of any method followed by historians and claim that mere common sense is the best guide to the interpretation of the past. In general terms I too believe this is true in the pursuit of all knowledge and one should not differentiate between 'specific methods' peculiar to one discipline as opposed to another. The end in all cases, it seems to me, is the same, and the natural sciences are only in a better position than other disciplines since their material is far less elusive than in other domains of human activities. After all, even today in the age of rockets and satellites, one should not forget that the sciences, especially the natural sciences, in reality discover or create nothing new. What they do is to view the given with new perspectives and rearrange our theories and concepts of ever more assembled data. Therefore, the best guide to all knowledge is simplicity and order in the classification of data, so that the scholar may gain new insights by that very ordering of material. So it is, I believe, with the study of the past. One must follow the guide of simplicity and the most efficient organization of data, to explain the past.

The past, however, is sometimes kind to the investigator in the mere accumulation of data which needs to be sifted, weighed, and discarded or retained for the historian to employ his insights and knowledge of comparable situations, drawing analogies and by logical processes of thought reconstructing his picture of the past. The history of Iran before the Arab conquests, however, presents a different picture of data and sources than other histories because of the great paucity of materials available. There is little hope of sifting and comparing sources in this realm, as one would do in modern French history for example, since every fragment of an inscription, every object of material culture, every word in a text of any kind whatsoever, must be scrutinized as with a microscope, to extract all possible information from it. Unfortunately this sometimes leads to flights of fancy and speculation which are not at all warranted by the evidence at hand. Although the temptation is great to make mountains out of molehills, I reaffirm that the true path to follow is

simplicity, restraint and a frank admission of our inability to push our knowledge further than the materials permit. These words may sound simple and unnecessary, but in the field of Iranian history they must be repeated constantly and heeded with the utmost conviction, since temptation to flights of fancy is so strong. Another admonition in this field, is not to neglect any piece of information, any text, no matter how late or apparently irrelevant it may seem to be, because in the Orient memories were much longer than in the West, and items of information could have been passed on from generation to generation for centuries without having been committed to the written word. Thus, in later books information relevant to a far earlier period may be preserved, all knowledge of which is missing from earlier works. Such later information may be more important than one at first believes, and it may change our view of the past.

To return to the question of method, some scholars will claim that I am only stating simple and obvious truths, yet I believe these simple matters are sometimes forgotten and need to be re-stated, especially for students who enter this field. In embarking on the investigation of any problem, and scholarship advances by asking questions as well as by recognizing problems, the first task is to formulate the problem, always realizing that a study of the evidence may change that formulation. Then the evidence must be assembled. Since the written word is so much more informative than objects of material culture, more attention must be devoted to texts than to archaeology, used in its widest sense. If texts are available, then textual criticism is necessary at the outset. Much has been written about textual criticism, and much has been accomplished in the Classical field which should serve as a model for the investigator of the history of Iran. This is not the place to go into detail about variant readings, the lectio difficilior, and such matters. Suffice it to say that careful attention to the principles of text criticism are essential to proper scholarship in the history of Iran at all periods.

After the texts have been established, and we know as well as possible what they meant to say when they were written, a historian's task is to study their background. Why were they written? What interests do they represent? What was the historical milieu in which they were written? Such questions are very important not only for a correct assessment of the sources but more for our picture of the history of any given time or place. After the background of the texts has been satisfactorily established, then one must assess the reliability and the exact interpretation of passages important for the historical problem under investigation. Not only is

lexicography important, for example the comparison of certain passages with parallels elsewhere, but also much auxiliary information must be consulted for an interpretation of textual passages. Too often in the lacunae-filled history of Iran an assumed possibility or probability has been taken for proof upon which hypotheses are built, and incorrect argumentation has resulted. For example, if in the archaeological excavation of Susa evidence for destruction was found on the site, which from the stratification should have dated from Sasanian times, and in a Syriac source it was stated that Shapur II destroyed Susa after an insurrection, then it was 'proved' that the destruction should be dated about 350 A.D. and the excavation then 'proved' that the source was reliable[1]. The possibility that the destruction might have been caused by someone else for another reason is completely ignored, and the certainty of a mathematical QED is fixed upon the investigation. Upon such 'certainty' other constructions are raised, which also receive their authentification in a similar manner. Thus one should always clearly state the alternatives to a proposed explanation which then has further consequences.

Likewise sometimes the existence of archaic words, or even concepts, in a late text, will persuade the investigator that his text is a translation from or an adaption of a much older text. This can be especially dangerous in the conclusions drawn from the study of a Middle Persian text of the ninth century A.D., about its 'real origin' in hoary antiquity. Obviously, not only were archaic terms sometimes preserved in some parts of Iran, or some authors or copyists had a penchant for rare words, but also at times ancient ideas, archaic syntax, or the like, in some way may have been preserved and this can be misleading. For example, the Middle Persian texts on Zurvanism in certain places may seem to be much more ancient than the presumed dating of the texts themselves since ideas of time speculation theoretically should be very ancient. As a corollary or continuation of this, frequently literary texts dealing with legends are assumed to have an historical basis and then historical conclusions are drawn from them. The distinction between history and fable, or even literature in general, must be observed or frequently strange results may follow. Furthermore, one must keep in mind different concepts of history. For Leopold von Ranke history was the report of what actually happened. Others have been less sanguine and have characterized history as that which historians thought had happened. In Iran one could go a step further and say that history is what people thought should have happened. I will expand on this below.

[1] P. BEDJAN, Acta martyrum et sanctorum, 2 (Paris, 1892), p. 264.

From these few observations the dangers of not having an open-minded, as well as a rational and systematic, approach to the evidence should be apparent. Again, this may seem to many like a self-evident and obvious statement, but in the present world too many people have forgotten the admonitions about fallacies in logical thinking taught by such thinkers as Aristotle, Bacon and Hegel. I still believe that their writings can teach us and aid our fundamental processes of thinking. Simple though they may be, it is not always easy to apply such principles to problems, but by formulating questions and presenting alternate answers, we may gain clarity in some matters. I repeat that the posing of questions, questions relevant to our problems, is the first step in the advancement of knowledge. Let us consider a few problems in Iranian history in this light.

One of the most disputed problems of ancient Iranian history is the date of Zoroaster. Without going into the prolegomena to the problem, by analyzing the sources according to the remarks above, we may investigate the most commonly accepted opinion[2].

The most accepted opinion on the date of Zoroaster was formulated by the late W. B. HENNING, who wrote in support of the traditional date of Zoroaster, as found in the Zoroastrian books of the 9th century A.D., especially in the Bundahishn which stated that Zoroaster had appeared 258 years before Alexander[3]. Much has been written about the meaning of the phrase 'appeared before Alexander', with many opinions on the meaning of the word 'appeared' and the words 'before Alexander.' We need not review the various theories that 'appeared' meant 'was born,' or 'received vision,' or 'converted Vishtāspa,' and whether 'before Alexander' meant before 'the Seleucid era,' 'the death of Alexander,' or whatever. HENNING declared that the number 258 years should be accepted, since following the principle of the lectio difficilior, one would expect any created number to have some mathematical, astrological, or symbolic significance, whereas 258 had no such obvious reason for anyone to select it as a good number for Zoroaster. Therefore it should belong to a genuine tradition and should be accepted as reliable, no matter what the words of the phrase really meant. Since even adversaries of HENNING, such as

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[2] Fortunately much of the work of collecting and analyzing the sources for the date of the prophet has been done by A. V. W. JACKSON, Zoroaster (New York, 1898), pp. 150—181, by C. CLEMEN, Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion (Gießen, 1920), pp. 11—28, and by others.

[3] Actually the Bundahishn (36, 8) does not give the number 258, but if the reader adds up the reigns of the rulers before Alexander from the time of Zoroaster's conversion of Vishtāspa, the result is 258, thus Vishtāspa 90 years, Vahūman 112, Hōmāy 30, Dārāy 12, Dārāy II 14, or the sum of 258.

Franz Altheim, accepted Henning's reasoning it seemed that the date of Zoroaster 258 years before 330 B.C. the end of Darius' rule, or 588 B.C. was now generally accepted. Just what that date meant was uncertain, but it was believed to have been an important date for some event in the prophet's life[4]. Other sources, such as Theodore bar Qōnī, give general dates for Zoroaster, as 300 years before Alexander, thus 'confirming' the traditional date. Another interpretation of these other sources, however, is that they vaguely knew the Iranian popular tradition but did not bother to count the reigns of the kings. I think it is very important to remember that the 'religious' tradition, as found in sources such as the Bundahishn, coincides with the 'popular' tradition as found in Firdōsī, and other later authors. Since the list of rulers is the same in both traditions, we may safely conclude that the two traditions coincide.

Once having accepted the thesis that the number 258 is common to both the Zoroastrian tradition and the popular, epic tradition, the next task is to explain how it arose. Either one borrowed from the other, or both are derived from a third source, which is unlikely for the third source would be a royal or an official source which would be more historical. From the length of reigns of the rulers between Vishtāspa (Gushtasp) and Alexander, in the Shāhnāme, one can at once assert that the epic tradition cannot be historical (see note 3). Rather this tradition is similar to the long lives given to the patriarchs in the genealogies of the Old Testament. Now the question is, whether the length of reigns of the rulers of the epic tradition were fitted into the given time span of 258 years, or whether the combined reigns just happened to add up to 258. In other words, did the religious tradition come first or the popular, epic tradition?

Both the Shāhnāme and the Annals of the Kings of Ancient Persia by Thaʿālibī, not to mention al-Bīrūnī and others, agree with the Bundahishn on the order and reigns of the kings before Alexander. So we may safely say that all Iranian traditions, religious, popular and otherwise, generally concur in the date of Zoroaster and in the order of rulers after him to the time of Alexander. It is likely that this date derived from the priestly tradition, as Henning argues that the date 258 was the only date the priests preserved from ancient times after the era of Alexander. To quote him (p. 40): "It is but natural that the members of the early Zoroastrian community should have counted the years from a significant moment in the life of their prophet, and that they should have gone on doing so until Alexander destroyed the Persian Empire, and with it, the power of the Magi; that with the confusion brought on by the Macedonian conquest the

[4] W. B. Henning, Zoroaster, Politician or Witch-Doctor? (Oxford, 1951), p. 41.

counting of years should have been interrupted, but, that, nevertheless, that one date, so- and so-many years before Alexander should have been remembered for all time, although otherwise the memory of all that went on before Alexander and of much that happened after Alexander was extinguished." For HENNING then it is clear that the mythical reigns of the kings were later fitted into the true number of 258 years before Alexander.

There are two arguments against this assumption. First, if the date 258 was so important that only it was remembered after Alexander, surely this important fact would have been known to some classical writers of the late Hellenistic period such as Pliny and Plutarch, who place Zoroaster in remote antiquity. I am not arguing for the remote age of Zoroaster, but rather asking why the popular tradition was not known to the Greeks and Romans. Second, and more damaging, is the origin of the number 258. As far as I know, this number as a whole number appears only in one late author, al-Bīrūnī who claims the Persians count the time between Zoroaster and Alexander as 258 years[5]. This, it seems to me, is the crux of the matter. The Persians count the reigns of the kings, rather than accept a traditional hallowed number. In other words, they add up the reigns of the kings rather than accept a given figure. One may ask whether a popular, epic tradition of the rule of the Kayanian kings was taken over by the priests, who were not concerned with history, but wanted to fit the prophet into a history, even though it were epic in character. Otokar KLIMA sought to discredit the number 258 by showing it was a misunderstanding of the real history, but his attempt to date the revelation of the religion to Zoroaster 232 years before Darius I, equating him with the Darab of the Persian tradition, is also unconvincing[6]. KLIMA uses the very data he discredits, viz. the length of reigns of the kings from Vishtāspa to Darab, 232 years, to reach a date 754 B.C. for Zoroaster's conversion of Vishtāspa. Rather the lengths of reigns, individual or added, seem to me to be historically unreliable, indeed epic. I believe only that the date 258 was obtained by adding the length of rules of the Achaemenian kings before Alexander, and since the names and figures are impossible, in spite of attempts by E. WEST and others to force the epic names into historical names and dates, I see no alternative but to abandon the date. The next question naturally to be asked is how did the ancient Persians come to assign such years of rule and such names to the era from Zoroaster to Alexander? The answer to this, I believe, must be sought in the practices of singers of songs and makers of epics, where the fantastic

[5] Athār al-Bāqiya, ed. E. SACHAU, text 14, trans. p. 17, line 17.

[6] O. KLIMA, The Date of Zoroaster, Archiv Orientální, 27 (1959), pp. 556—564.

is joined with the historical. Therefore, I propose that the popular tradition is a mixture of the fabulous, e.g. Vishtāspa's reign of 120 years, Zoroaster appearing after 30 years of rule, and of semi-historical information, e.g. the two Darius kings. It is not at all unusual to have such a mixture in an epic tradition. The numbers for the reigns could come from various sources, for example the reign of Vishtāspa is four qarn 'era' (thirty years) in Iranian beliefs, and the supposition that his reign represents a joining of four reigns is, of course, completely unhistorical but possible in qarn, or length of a man's life, speculation. I can find no historical reality for the number 258 or for the length of reigns of the various rulers. Therefore, we should return to a non liquet for the date of Zoroaster, which is better than a false assumption. If pressed, I would suggest a slightly older date for Zoroaster than 258 years before Alexander, since the early Greeks probably heard from some Persians about his hoary antiquity because the Persians themselves did not know what had happened in eastern Iran before Cyrus the Great. The date 258, I believe, is a later (Sasanid) creation[6a].

Another matter of interest to which a typology might be applied is the vexing question of the rise of the cumbersome system of Middle Iranian writing, using Aramaic masks or 'logograms' for verbs and many common words. Again we may quote Henning who wrote, "man darf als sicher ansehen, daß das Aramäische etwa in der Mitte des 2ten Jhdts. (v. Ch.) von mit Hilfe aramäischer 'Ideogramme' geschriebenen iranischen Sprachen verdrängt wurde und daß die damals neu entstandenen Schriftsysteme sich im Laufe des 1sten Jhdts. weiter ausgebildet haben, um etwa in den ersten Jahrzehnten unserer Zeitrechnung ihre Vollendung zu erreichen; die späteren Veränderungen sind verhältnismäßig geringfügig." I should like to apply a rather mechanical, historical test to the proposition that in Iran the official language evolved gradually from Aramaic to Middle Iranian languages with Aramaic 'ideograms or logograms.' I propose a scheme of four languages used at any one time and place, 1. the 'official' written language, 2. the 'official' spoken language, 3. the

[6a] Hints of the existence of a 'religious' era, in use by Zoroastrian priests, beginning from the date of the acceptance of the religion by Vishtāspa (as the *padīriftan-i dēn* in the *Great Bundahishn*, 240, (viz. folio 122a, and 119b, ed. B. T. Anklesaria, Bombay, 1956) do not 'prove' the reliability of the number 258. As a matter of fact, the phrase '528 years' before the coming of the religion as found in the *Vichitakiha-i Zatsparam*, ed. B. Anklesaria (Bombay, 1964), text p. 46, as well as other dates, '300 years before the religion,' does not inspire confidence in the historical reality of a known and fixed date before Alexander. There were undoubtedly several systems of reckoning time in ancient Iran, but none seem to have preserved historical dates of the pre-Achaemenid period.

religious language, and finally 4. dialects. Let us take Babylon, Persepolis, Ecbatana or Hamadan, and Samarqand in the time of Darius, in the first century A.D. and in the third century A.D. We may present the results in a table.

	Darius	1st cent. (ca. 25) A.D.	3d Cent. (ca. 225) A.D.
Babylon	1. Accadian	1. Aramaic and Greek	1. Cursive Aramaic
	2. Aramaic	2. Parthian	2. Middle Persian
	3. Accadian-Sumerian	3. Accadian and others	3. Syriac and others
	4. "Dialects"	4. Aramaic dialect and Greek, etc.	4. Aramaic dialects
Persepolis	1. Elamite	1. Aramaic	1. Middle Persian
	2. Old Persian	2. Parthian	2. Middle Persian
	3. Avestan (?)	3. Avestan	3. Avestan
	4. Persian dialect	4. Persian dialect	4. Persian dialect
Ecbatana	1. Accadian	1. Aramaic (and Greek ?)	1. Parthian
	2. Median or Old Persian	2. Parthian	2. Middle Persian
	3. Avestan (?)	3. Avestan	3. Avestan
	4. Median Dialect	4. Median Dialect	4. Median Dialect
Samarqand	1. Aramaic	1. Aramaic (and Greek ?)	1. MP or Sogdian
	2. Old Persian	2. Parthian or Sogdian	2. MP or Sogdian
	3. Avestan (?)	3. Avestan (?)	3. Avestan
	4. Sogdian dialect	4. Sogdian dialect	4. Sogdian dialect

In no case do all four languages coincide, but we may make an observation. In the first century A.D. everywhere the 'official' written language, and by 'official' I mean the language of communication and in the archives of the state, is given as Aramaic and/or Greek. There may be many errors in grammar and non-Aramaic words in extant Aramaic texts from this period, but the alphabet is Aramaic and the language is Aramaic. I refer to the ostraca from Nisa, the documents from Avroman, the inscriptions from Armazi (2nd cent. A.D.), and the coins of Persis. Parthian coins, on the other hand, have Greek legends down to the fall of the empire about 225 A.D. It seems to me clear that Aramaic and Greek were the 'official' written languages on the Iranian plateau, as well as elsewhere, throughout most of the Parthian period as they were under the Seleucids. Only in the first century A.D. do changes begin to occur. From the time of Vologeses I (ca. 51—80 A.D.) Aramaic (or Parthian) legends appear for the first time on Parthian coins, where previously only Greek was used. It is true

that Aramaic did not replace Greek, right down to the end of the dynasty, but Aramaic legends do occur, and for the first time under Vologeses I. Furthermore, the gathering of fragments of the Avesta by a king Valakhsh mentioned in the Dēnkart (Madan, 412–l. 5), may well refer to Vologeses I. This would indicate an 'orientalization' of the Parthian state at this time, which would fit well with the political history of conflict with Rome, and, incidentally, it would fit in well with the beginning of the change from writing in Aramaic to a developed system of 'logograms.'

The differences between the texts of the Avroman document of ca. 50 A.D. and the 'Reichsaramäisch' of the Achaemenid Prince Arsama in the Elephantine documents are far less than between Avroman and the Parthian versions of the inscriptions of the early Sasanian kings. To come to the point, I believe the development of the 'logogram' system of writing is not a steady, gradual one from the Achaemenids to the Parthians, but in the later Parthian period one may assume that conscious attempts were made to change the writing system. I suggest that Papak, or Ardashir early in his reign, somewhat like Darius the Achaemenid, ordered the scribes to prepare a better system of writing Middle Persian for inscriptions, and reforms were made in the old system of writing, especially with better letters of the alphabet. I am not suggesting that there was a great language reform that with one decree changed completely the system, as ALTHEIM asserts, but rather the intervention of a new imperial power in the tidying up of a writing system perhaps adequate to a provincial petty kingdom in Fars, but not for a new, expanding empire. Further finds of epigraphic material in Fars, as well as elsewhere in Iran, will, I believe, substantiate the above theory, just as, I believe, excavations of pre-Achaemenid Median sites, will reveal Accadian as the official language of the Median court.

In addition to the table I proposed above, I would like to suggest that there were probably various schools of scribes in the different parts of the former Achaemenid Empire which developed different traditions as time advanced. Also one should not forget that there were probably at least three different kinds of scribes, 1. royal or governmental scribes, 2. religious scribes, and 3. scribes for the common folk, for merchants, traders, and the like. Sometimes they fell together, whereas at other times they were highly differentiated. With the flourishing of local nationalisms in the first century A.D. and the subsequent weakening of the central government of the Parthians, it is not too much to suggest that the systems of writing became more varied and certainly more Iranian in character. By 'Iranian in character,' I mean that different ways of writing the

Aramaic 'logograms,' with different endings began to develop. Naturally, a highly inflected language such as Old Sogdian hardly could be written in the same way as Middle Persian which had lost all case endings, gender, and other grammatical forms. It is also highly probable that the influence of the scribes who wrote for merchants and others increased at the expense of the royal or governmental scribes in parallel with the decline in power of the central government under the Parthians. So the development of writing in Iran, in my opinion, parallels the course of history, more Iranicization and the decline of central power. The second century A.D. was a time of change in the Orient and unfortunately in Iran it is a blank page of history.

The spread of the Persian language all over the Iranian cultural area was started by Ardashir and concluded first by the Arabs with the expansion of Islam, and then by the Turks with their expansion into Anatolia and India. If Ardashir had not won, the linguistic picture of the Iranian area might be very different today.

To turn to another question, I believe one must reexamine the nature of religious reformers in the history of Iran, figures such as Mazdak in Sasanian times, and Babak, Muqanna^c, and others in Islamic times, applying criteria of the comparative history of religions to them. For example, one might well differentiate between reformers, either religious or social, and figures who fit into the messianic tradition of Iranian history, or into millennium speculation. Thus, to refer to the Sasanian period of Iran's history, Vahram-i Varjavand, seems to me to be an example of the millennary tradition, for he is a truly messianic personality, even though probably a greatly heroicized form of the historic Bahram Chobin. As I have frequently stated, in the past of Iran, for the people, history was not what really happened, or even what they thought had happened, but what they thought should have happened. This is a fundamental characteristic of the view of the past among a people who have a strong epic tradition and a messianic tradition of time speculation. Likewise, in my opinion, patterns repeat themselves readily in the history of Iran, or rather the reporter of events readily seizes upon past accepted patterns to relate to or explain these recent events[7]. I believe that one of these patterns can be used, for example, to better explain Mazdak who seems to have been a social reformer more than anything else.

[7] Frye, The Charisma of Kingship in Ancient Iran, Iranica Antiqua, 6 (Leiden, 1964), pp. 36—54.

Much has been written about Mazdak, including two books, one by Arthur CHRISTENSEN, another by O. KLIMA, and much in the writings of F anz ALTHEIM. All generally agree that Mazdak's teachings were a reform of Manichaeism first taught by a certain Bundos, who had lived for a time in Rome. Yet Mazdak won over King Kavad and many dignitaries of the court and church at the end of the fifth century in Sasanian Iran. The natural question arises, how could a Manichaean heretic sway so many important personages when Manichaeism itself was proscribed? Without going into detail, it should seem highly probable, at least to anyone who is well acquainted with the Orient, that Mazdak could not have won such success with a claim to be a Manichaean heretic. When we probe deeper into all sources, we find some which say he was a Zoroastrian priest and so claimed to be. The pattern, not unknown in the long history of Iran, I suggest, is this: Mazdak claimed to be a reformer of the orthodox Zoroastrian church, and after the failure of the movement and the bloody suppression of the movement, Mazdak was then condemned as a Manichaean heretic, who got his ideas from the accursed enemy milieu of Rome. There is, of course, no way in which this can be checked, but the pattern would fit parallels elsewhere, even including Western Europe where reformers or heretics of the church were condemned as Manichaeans.

A final remark on method in history concerns seal inscriptions, and is different from the above questions. With the growing number of catalogues of Sasanian seals an historical assessment of them is becoming possible. The sheer number and variety of the seals indicates the important purpose they served as the substitute for a modern signature. But the very number of such seals compared with earlier times also attests to the highly organized bureaucracy in Sasanian Iran, and the much expanded economic activities of more of the populace as compared with the past. It is now apparent that seal makers were very busy under the Sasanids, turning out expensive, beautiful seals for the powerful or wealthy and much more modest specimens for the common folk. Varying styles or specialties of certain stones, or ways of carving, certainly existed, but of equal or more interest are the large number of seals attributed to priests. There is no doubt that many of the functions of the later Islamic qāḍī had their origin in Sasanian times, and the legal system of Sasanian Iran was essentially in the hands of the Zoroastrian priests. The priests were also officials in the registration of commercial transactions, as the more than 500 clay sealings from Qaṣr-e Abū Naṣr (Old Shiraz) would imply. If we remember that irrigation and the utilization of land in Iraq and Khuzistan were far greater under the Sasanids than before or after, then

we may gain a better appreciation of the great expansion of commerce, farming and of governmental organization which took place under the Sasanids[8].

It should be possible now, using statistical methods on the vast number of seals, to roughly determine the relative size of the priestly class, the adminstrative subdivisions of the land, the hierarchy of provincial organization, and many other matters. We need more archaeological excavations which will bring new material to the historian, who must know how to study, classify and interpret various kinds of evidence from the past. Likewise new methods for the interpretation of texts can reveal new insights to the historian. For example, to turn to the early Islamic period of Iran's history, the great numbers of Ṭabaqāt histories of cities, or those arranged chronologically, have hitherto defied attempts of historians to extract meaningful information from them, since they seemed less informative than the telephone book of a modern city. By the application of statistical methods to them, however, it should be possible, for example, to discern trends in the growth, or movement from city to city, of scholars holding to Hanbalī, Hanafī, Shiᶜite, or other persuasions, important for Islamic history. Likewise, the growing influx of Turks into the Near East, or similar questions, can be determined. In other words, I believe that we can apply new insights and new methods to the study of much of the past to obtain interesting information. As in any such endeavor, however, there are many caveats to be observed and many problems will arise. It is not possible to discuss such problems here, but it seems to me clear that the application of typologies, the use of new methods if you will, to problems of Iranian history, has just as much meaning and validity as in the study of languages. Many scholars claim that the understanding of historical phenomena is based on individual events which cannot be, or which were not repeated, whereas all scientific knowledge is based on the general, which is repeated, with nomothetic character. I believe that if we were able to assemble all, and I mean all, of the data, regarding an event in the past, we would be able to discover why and how such an event happened, just as in the natural sciences or in linguistics, if we were able to gather all of the data we could formulate exhaustive laws, but in history they would be neither absolute nor eternal any more than they are in the natural sciences. In

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[8] See Robert ADAMS, Land Behind Baghdad (Chicago, 1965), pp. 73 and 83; also his article, Agriculture and urban life in early southwestern Iran, Science, 136 (1962), p. 11.

the natural sciences we have made much more progress towards this goal than in linguistics, and in linguistics far more than in history. Whether we can ever make similar progress in history is questionable, but nonetheless I believe that there is no basic difference between scientific and historical explanation and the overall method of approach should be the much the same.

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TARXŪN-TÜRXŪN AND CENTRAL ASIAN HISTORY

Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 14, Cambridge, Mass., 1951

ṬARXŪN-TÜRXŪN AND CENTRAL ASIAN HISTORY

In translating Naršaχī's *History of Bukhara* I found the name Ṭarχūn, ruler of Sogdiana, mentioned several times in connection with the Arab conquests in Central Asia. Further study, to identify this ruler, led to the Sogdian documents discovered in the Tajik SSR in 1933, and deciphered by the Soviet Iranist A. A. FREIMAN.[1] It is unfortunate that since their discovery these important documents have not received in the West the attention which they merit. I know of only one study of them in a western European language—the article by Professor W. B. HENNING.[2]

Before presenting my own conclusions, it seems necessary to review my translations, made before the war, of articles written in Russian by FREIMAN and KRAČKOVSKIJ for the *Sogdijskij Sbornik*, as well as later articles on the Sogdian documents.

I have not attempted to solve the many problems of Iranian philology connected with the history of Sogdiana which appear in the following pages. This article is intended to bring attention to the work of the Soviet scholars and to elucidate a few of the details of the history of Sogdiana at the time of the Arab conquests.

A. A. FREIMAN, " The Discovery of Sogdian Manuscripts and Remains of Material Culture in Tajikistan, Preliminary Report," *Sogdijskij Sbornik*, 7-17:

In the autumn of 1933 a report reached Leningrad that a MS. written in the Uiγur or Sogdian script had been found in Tajik-

[1] *Sogdijskij Sbornik* (Leningrad, 1934), 121 pp. The fascinating account of the decipherment of the documents, which reads like a detective story, may be found in I. Ju. KRAČKOVSKIJ, *Nad arabskimi rukopisjami* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1946), pp. 123-29. From his account, it was the Arabic document which provided the key to the understanding of all the documents.

[2] W. B. HENNING, "Zum soghdischen Kalendar," *Orientalia* 8 (1939).87-95. Two reviews of the *Sbornik* have come to my attention: that by L. LEFORT in *Le Muséon* 47 (1934).340-8, and that by W. PRINTZ, *ZDMG* 88 (1934).361.

istan. An examination of a photograph of the MS. showed that it was written in the (Buddhist) Sogdian cursive script, in the Sogdian language, and from its contents represented a letter addressed to some important personage. This was the first discovery of a Sogdian MS. on the territory of ancient Sogdiana proper, since previous discoveries had been made only in Chinese Turkistan.

The MS. was found in the ruins of a castle on Mt. Mugh (in Tajik: *muq kal'a*) near the village of Khairabad, 120 kilometers east of Samarqand on the left bank of the Zarafshan River, where it is joined by the Kum River. In the excavations four hundred objects of material culture were found, including textiles, skins, potsherds, arrowheads, household objects, and six coins—one silver and five copper. The last had square holes in the center. Eighty documents on paper, skins and wood were also found.[3]

An examination of the documents shows that we have the archives of a Sogdian feudal lord, Dīvāstīč. In some documents he is called *syγwδyk MLK' sm'rknδyč MR'Y* "Sogdian king, ruler of Samarqand"; in others, only "Sogdian king." Sometimes the ideogram *MLK'* takes the place of the Sogdian word *γwβw* "king." In the history of Ya'qūbī, in Arabic, we find the title *Iχšīd al-Suγd Afšīn Samarqand* for Γurek, ruler of Samarqand ca. 710-738. This is the same formula as the *MLK'* and *MR'Y* of Dīvāstīč. The Sogdian equivalent for the ideogram *MLK'*, however, is usually thought to be *γw'tw* "ruler," NP *χudā*. In Sogdian there are three words attested for "king": *γwβw, γw'tw* and *iχšīd*. [The last is found in Manichaean Sogdian as כשיל; cf. E. WALDSCHMIDT and W. LENTZ, "Manichäische Dogmatik aus Chinesischen und Iranischen Texten," *Sitzungsberichte der Preuszischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1933) .545.] The mask *MLK'* might represent any one of these three, for if there is a slight difference of meaning between them it is unknown to us. The ideogram *MR'Y* is already known from the Sogdian "Ancient Letters" published by REICHELT.[4] It is the Pahlevi *mrr'*, which

[3] Later more documents were found; the total number, therefore, must be over ninety.

[4] H. REICHELT, *Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, II. Teil (Heidelberg, 1931). The letters have been dated from the first part of the fourth century A. D. by W. B. HENNING, "The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," *BSOAS* 12 (1948) .601-615.

represents MP $\chi^{u}a\delta ay$ "ruler."[5] It is difficult to say whether it is an Aramaic word borrowed by Sogdian or an ideogram for a Sogdian word; the passage from Ya'qūbī leads one to believe it was an ideogram. The word *afšīn* is found in Ossetic as *æfsin* "mistress." So we may suppose that *MR'Y* is an ideogram for the Sogdian word *afšīn*.

In addition to *Dīvāstīč*, *trγwn* and other names appear in the documents. Class differences are shown by the formulae of introduction, for letters to Dīvāstīč are addressed *'t βγw γwβw* "to the god king." Another person, *prm'nδ'r 'wttw*, seems to be a subordinate since he is not similarly addressed.[6] Geographical terms include *pnčyknδ* and *kwštwt*, the former being the town of Panjikant and the latter, a tributary of the Zarafshan River. It is possible that these documents are copies of letters which were retained by the sender.

On Mt. Mugh, eighty written documents were found—twenty-five on Chinese paper, thirty-two on skins and twenty-three on wood. One document is in an unknown script and language; two on skins are in Arabic, but are parts of one letter. Eight on paper are in Chinese; five of these have Sogdian texts on the reverse, and the rest are solely in Sogdian. The Sogdian documents are divided according to material—twenty-three on wood, twenty-nine on skins, and twenty-two (including the five with Chinese on the obverse) on paper.

V. A. and I. Ju. Kračkovskij, "The Oldest Arabic Document from Central Asia," *Sogdijskij Sbornik*, 52-90:

The first step in the decipherment of the Arabic document was the identification of the proper names in it. The information sent to Leningrad said that the son of Ṭarχūn was mentioned in it.[7]

[5] For various forms of the word and further references cf. O. Hansen, "Die mittelpersischen Papyri der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin," *APAW* (*Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*) (Berlin, 1938), p. 29. Henning once told me that Sogdian *χwt'w* was pronounced *χutāu*.

[6] Henning has shown that *βγw* should not be taken as "God," but as the German *Herr*. This has been adopted by Smirnova; see postscript.

[7] The reader may object to seeming inconsistency in the use of Ṭarχūn, tarχūn, tarχān, türχūn, and others. The first form is a transcription of the Arabic form of

On examination the text was found to read not "the son of Ṭarχūn," but "my son Ṭarχūn," or "the two sons of Ṭarχūn," ابنى طرخون. The appearance of the dual pronominal suffix later in the text made the last interpretation the most probable.

The time and locale of the document were established by the reading of the second proper name, *Dīvāstī*.[8] It soon became evident that the same person figured in most of the Sogdian documents. The date of the Arabic document was established to within one year by the identification of the third name, the person to whom the letter was addressed. The name *al-Jarrāḥ*, relatively rare in Arabic onomastica, could be identified as al-Jarrāḥ ibn 'Abdallāh, governor of Khurasan from 99-101/717-719. He was relieved of his duties in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 101/April 719, and thus ruled only one year and five months. The letter, addressed to him as governor of Khurasan, must have been written not earlier than the beginning of 718 and not later than April 719. The letter is written on skin, possibly goatskin; it is 25 by 18.5 centimeters in size, and has been folded. The text and translation follow:

١ – بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
٢ – للامير الجراح بن عبدالله من مولاه ديوا
٣ – ستى السلم عليك ايها الامير
٤ – ورحمت الله فانى احمد اليك
٥ – الله الذى لا اله الا هو
٦ – اما بعد ••••• اصلح الله الامير وامتع

1. In the name of God the merciful and compassionate
2. To the amīr al-Jarrāḥ ibn 'Abdallāh from his client
3. Dīvāstī. Peace be upon you, O amīr,
4. and the mercy of God. Verily, I praise God to you;
5. there is no God but he.
6. Now there follows . . . . may God guide the amīr and give him

the name of the ruler of Samarqand. The final form is the reconstructed Sogdian form of the name which I shall use in the second half of this article.

[8] According to HENNING, *op. cit.*, p. 88, the name should be read *δywštyč*, but I have left the form *δywstyč*, Divastīč, as FREIMAN gives it in his articles.

٧ ـ به فانى ..
٨ ـ لامير حاجتى وحاجة ابنى طرخون وان الا
٩ ـ مير امتع الله به ذكر ابنى طرخون بخير
١٠ ـ فان را الامير من الراى ان يكتب
١١ ـ الى سليمن ابن ابى السرى فيبعث بهما الى الامير (؟)
١٢ ـ فليفعل او يا مر لى الامير بدابة من دواب
١٣ ـ البريد فابعث عليها غلامى يات بهما
١٤ ـ الامير فان الله جعل قدم (؟) الامير لاهل
١٥ ـ المط ..... غياث ورحمة
١٣ ـ اسل الله ..... والسلم عليك ايها الامير ورحمة الله

7. abundance. I . . . .
8. to the amīr, my need and the need of the two sons of Ṭarχūn. May
9. God give abundance to the amīr, to think well of the sons of Ṭarχūn.
10. And if the amīr agrees to come to a decision to write to
11. Sulaiman ibn Abī'l Sarī, that he send them (both) to the amīr (?)
12. let it be done. Or if the amīr orders one horse for me from
13. the horses of the post, I will send my servant on it to fetch them
14. both to the amīr. May God make the amīr exalted (?) the people
15. . . . . succor and mercy
16. I entreat God . . . . peace be on you, O amīr, and the mercy of God.

There are four names mentioned in the document, two from the Arab side and two from the Sogdian side.

We have more information about al-Jarrāḥ than about the other three. He was a protegé of al-Ḥajjāj, the notorious governor of Iraq. Al-Jarrāḥ held many posts in Iraq before he was named governor of Khurasan. His rule in Khurasan was on the whole unsuccessful, but he did not lose the confidence of the caliph after his removal from office. He was later appointed governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan and lost his life in the battle of Marj Ardabīl in 730 A.D. During his brief term of office in Khurasan

he sought to maintain the status quo and uphold the hegemony of the Arabs, which had been badly shaken after the death of the famous general Qutayba ibn Muslim. Al-Jarrāḥ's quarrel with the caliph arose over internal policy. The question of the collection of taxes from newly converted Muslims was an issue in Khurasan as elsewhere in the Umayyad caliphate. In principle, the caliphs and governers should have ceased to collect taxes when a subject was converted to Islam, but in practice they adopted a different policy to protect the government treasury. The pious caliph 'Umar II, however, took the part of the new converts and followed a policy of refraining from collecting taxes from them. In opposition to this, al-Jarrāḥ sought to prevent conversions to Islam. He followed a " tough " policy in regard to the subject population and was consequently removed by the caliph, who followed a more conciliatory policy.

The nature of al-Jarrāḥ's policy may be discussed in connection with another person mentioned in the document, Sulaiman ibn Abī'l Sarī. He was a client of the tribe of 'Uwāfa (*Ṭabarī* II, 1421.7) and was probably a non-Arab. In 101/719 he was in Samarqand. He must have held an important position, for the calpih 'Umar II personally sent him instructions regarding the organization of the postal service and postal stations. In 102/720 Sulaiman was appointed collector of taxes in Sogdiana (*Ṭabarī* II, 1421). In 104/722-3, at the direction of the newly-appointed governor of Khurasan, Sa'īd al-Ḥarašī, Sulaiman laid siege to one of the castles of Sogdiana (*Ṭabarī* II, 1447.2-3) where, as we shall see later, Dīvāstī, the author of our letter, was captured. Soon after this Sulaiman was named lieutenant of the governor over the districts of Kish and Nasaf (*Ṭabarī* II, 1448.7-8). In 110/728-9 he was again appointed collector of taxes. This is the last we hear of him.

Much less is known about the Sogdians mentioned in the letter. We know nothing of the sons (or children) of Ṭarχūn. Ṭarχūn himself is mentioned in the Arabic sources, but there are many uncertainties about him, some of them due to the confusion between his name and the title *tarχān*. The word *tarχān* seems to be a title, although it may have been used as a proper name.

The grandfather of the famous philosopher al-Farabī was called Ṭarχān. Ṭarχūn, on the other hand, seems to be a proper name. It has been claimed that *ṭarχūn* is a word foreign to the Sogdian language.[9]

In Arabic sources Ṭarχūn is called "ruler (*malik*) of Suγd" (*Ṭabarī* II, 1204.4-5; *Ya'qūbī* II, 342.9) or ruler of Samarqand (*Balādhurī*, 417.2; *Ṭabarī* II, 1146.9). He appears as a semi-legendary figure in the "*χaṭūn* romance" of the conquest of Bukhara by the Arabs. Ṭarχūn is mentioned for the first time in 85/704 (*Ṭabarī* II, 1146.9).[10] His battle with Qutayba at the conquest of Bukhara in 88/707 is definitely attested, but the negotiations for a truce seem to have lasted two years, till 709 (*Ṭabarī* II, 1204.4-14; *Ibn al-Athīr* IV, 430.6-10). This treaty, however, was the cause of his downfall. In the following year Qutayba sent his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān to Samarqand to obtain the tribute, and Ṭarχūn paid it (*Ṭabarī* II, 1229.12-13). After the departure of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Ṭarχūn was deposed by the anti-Arab Sogdians and put in prison, where in despair he committed suicide. *Ya'qūbī* II, 344.2 and 300.2, however, says he was killed by his successor Γurek. The latter ruled Samarqand for about twenty-seven years and died in 737 or 738. His policy towards the Arabs vacillated between friendship and enmity. He was obliged to recognize the suzerainty of the Arabs in 93/711-12 when Qutayba conquered Samarqand again, but in 718 he wrote a letter to the emperor of China requesting aid against the Arabs.

The last name, *Dīvāstī*, aided in deciphering the Sogdian form, *Dīvāstīč*, which is found in the Sogdian fragments.[11] Ṭabarī is

[9] F. Rozenberg, "O sogdijcax," *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov* 1 (1925).84.

[10] The story of his role in the battles of the Arabs against the rebel Musā ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Xāzim is just as legendary as his role in the "*χatūn* romance."

[11] In *Ṭabarī* the name appears as *Dīvāstī*, *Dīvāštī* and *Dīvāšnī*. In the *Ta'rīχ-i-Nīšāpūr*, (Persian translation of the Arabic work of al-Ḥākim al-Nīšāpūrī ibn al-Bayyi', MS. Bursa, Kırşımulu Camii 2047., fol. 40 obv. there is a passage:

وميكال كان ابن الواجد بن جبرائل بن القسم بن بكر بن
ديواشى وهو شور الملوك بن شور بن شور بن شور
اربعة من ملوك بن فيروز بن يزدجرد بن بهرام جور

The form *Dīvāšī* is to be read *Dīvāštī*. *Šūr* is puzzling. There is a town of Šūr in Šāš province according to *Muqaddasī*, 264.

the only Arabic source which mentions him, while Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn merely follow Ṭabarī. In the letter he calls himself *maulā*, which indicates only a recognition of the supremacy of the Arabs in his correspondence with them. In *Ṭabarī* II, 1447.8 (which is taken from al-Madā'inī) he is simply called *dihqān* or *dihqān* of Samarqand (*Ṭabarī* II, 1446.13). If we note that his fate was bound up with the fortress of Abγar (*Ṭabarī* II, 1441.7), we may tentatively identify him with the autonomous "ruler of Abγar" who in 102/720-1, gave one Arab governor, Sa'īd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, the nickname "the lady."[12] (Cf. *Ṭabarī* II, 1418.1-3 and *Ibn al-Athīr* V, 68.) This indicates that Dīvāstī was no simple *dihqān* but a great feudal lord. The Sogdian documents complicate matters for in them he is called "Sogdian king, ruler of Samarqand," a parallel to the title of Γurek. It is difficult to assume two rulers of Samarqand at the same time, and a satisfactory solution of this problem is still to be found.

In 721 Sa'īd al-Ḥarašī, a prominent general, was named governor of Khurasan. His short rule seems to have been just one large punitive expedition against the Sogdians. Many Sogdians, fearing repression because of their former anti-Arab activities, decided to migrate to districts further from Arab control. A large group of them went to Ferghana and the area of Khojent (*Ṭabarī* II, 1439-1441). Dīvāstī and the inhabitants of Panjikant fortified themselves in the fortress of Abγar. In the spring and summer of 722 the Arabs attacked the Sogdian refugees. Sa'īd al-Ḥarašī led the attack in the Khojent district. In the Zarafshan valley the operations were directed by Sulaiman ibn Abī'l Sarī. He had an army of native troops from Bukhara and Khwārazm as well as Arabs. Dīvāstī was defeated and took refuge in his fortress. After a siege he was persuaded to surrender, and with a guarantee of safe conduct was sent to Sa'īd al-Ḥarašī (*Ṭabarī* II, 1447.2-12). At first he was well treated, but after the towns of Kish and Rabinjan were captured by the Arabs, and the Sogdians thoroughly subdued, Dīvāstī was put to death. His head was

[12] On Abγar, interpreted as *apar -γar* "auf dem Berg," cf. J. MARQUART, "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Erān," *ZDMG*, 49 (1895).660.

sent to Iraq to the governor 'Umar ibn Xubair, and his left hand was sent to Sulaiman ibn Abī'l Sarī (*Ṭabarī* II, 1448.4-10). In the same year Sa'īd was removed from the governorship. One source says he was recalled because of the displeasure of the governor of Iraq over his execution of Dīvāstī (*Ṭabarī* II, 1453. 16). This again shows the important role which Dīvāstī played vis-à-vis the Arabs.

Commentary to the text of the letter: The opening phrase, the *bismillāh*, seems to be a declaration by Dīvāstī that he was a Muslim, but in reality this declaration was only a diplomatic act on his part. The Islamization of Transoxiana was not accomplished till the time of the caliph al-Mu'taṣim (833-842) and before his time there was only a minority of Muslims in Central Asia.

There must have been a scribe in the chancellory of Dīvāstī, employed for correspondence with the Arabs, who knew all the formulae of bureaucratic Muslim style. The form عليك in the sentence, "I ask Allah to bless you," indicates the confidence of the scribe in his knowledge of what should be written. Arabic was not widely used in Khurasan, and al-Jahšiyārī (died 942) says that Arabic did not become compulsory for the administration in Khurasan till 124/742. Until that time the records were kept in Persian, since the scribes were Magi. "Then Yūsuf ibn 'Umar wrote a letter to Nasr ibn Sayyār ordering him not to appoint a single one of the people of the East in his chancery and registry. The first one who changed the registry from Persian to Arabic in Khurasan was Isḥaq ibn Ṭalīq the scribe." [13]

Dīvāstī, in the document, calls himself *maulā* "client," a loose term in Central Asia. The clients, however, were a strong group. In 96/714, of 47,000 warriors in the army of Khurasan, 7,000 were clients, according to *Ṭabarī* II, 1290-1291. They frequently held the balance of power in the Arab inter-tribal struggles in Central Asia. It is not surprising that Muslim ibn Sa'īd al-Kilābī, the governor sent to replace Sa'īd al-Ḥarašī, was admonished to keep peace with the clients (*Ṭabarī* II, 1481.7). Qutayba had fol-

[13] *Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa'l-kuttāb* of al-Jahšiyārī (Cairo, 1938), p. 67.

lowed a policy of friendship with the clients. In 93/711-12 he proclaimed himself the avenger of the blood of Ṭarχūn, his client, who was under his protection. وقال انا ثائر بدم طرخون كان مولاى وكان من اهل ذمّتى (*Ṭabarī* II, 1249.5).

In the letter, the sons of Ṭarχūn are mentioned in a thoughtful, protecting tone. The letter could not have been sent to a foe of the writer. The sending of a servant to accompany the sons of Ṭarχūn implies both that they were young, and that they would be freely sent, not as hostages or under guard. If Ṭarχūn had died in 709, then in 719 his sons might be ten or eleven years old. At the time of the deposition of Ṭarχūn, the Sogdians had called him شيخ كبير, which implies that at that time he was elderly (*Ṭabarī* II, 1229.15). If we remember the oath of Qutayba to avenge the blood of Ṭarχūn, we may suppose that there was an Arabophile group supporting the sons of Ṭarχūn as the legitimate rulers of Samarqand. This, however, is all hypothesis, awaiting a clarification of the role of Dīvāstī.

In general, the veracity of the account of Madā'inī of the Arab conquests in Central Asia, as preserved in Ṭabarī, has been regarded with much scepticism by modern scholars. Our document, by substantiating a few episodes in the narrative, indicates that the Arabic sources may be more reliable than heretofore believed. *Ṭabarī* II, 1446.12, even says that Dīvāstī is the Arabic form of Dīvāstič—a fact that is now confirmed by the Sogdian documents.[14]

From an analysis of the script one may surmise that the scribe was an Arab, not aged, and from a good school. The use of skin for the letter suggests that the scribe belonged to the Iraq or Khurasan rather than the Egyptian school. It is of interest to note that the Arabs used skins in Central Asia while the Sogdians used parchment or Chinese paper. This was an important epoch in the cultural contacts between East and West, for the Arabs had just come into contact with Chinese paper at the time our document was written.

[14] Cf. HENNING, *op. cit.*, p. 88. He transcribes the name *δēvāštīč*.

A. A. Freiman, "Dated Sogdian Documents from Mt. Mugh in Tajikistan," *Trudy Instituta Vostokovedenija* 17 (1936) .137-165:

Further work on the documents corroborated the information about them given in the *Sogdijskij Sbornik*. The documents are the business correspondence of Dīvāstīč, his notes and receipts. No literary remains have been found among them. The documents dated in the year, month and day of the rule of Dīvāstīč are of great importance for the reconstruction of the Sogdian calendar. (The section on the Sogdian calendar, with texts and translations, is omitted here. For a summary of the material cf. Henning, "Zum soghdischen Kalendar," *op. cit.*, 87-95.)

Dīvāstīč has the title "Sogdian king, ruler of Samarqand" only in a few documents. Several of these documents, on paper and skins, date from the first year of the rule of Dīvāstīč. He has the same title in another document on paper, dated in the second year of his reign. The next dated document is from the sixth year of his reign, and in it he has the title "ruler of Panča (Panjikant)." The title "Sogdian king, ruler of Samarqand" does not appear in any of the later dated documents.

It is of interest to note that not one of the documents, in which Dīvāstīč is called "ruler of Panjikant," is of paper. This is probably because paper, a material imported from China at this time, was still rare and not likely to have been used in a provincial town such as Panjikant. Therefore, one may suppose that the documents written on paper were written in the center of Sogdiana, in Samarqand and its surroundings.

There are ten documents dated by the regnal year of Dīvāstīč. The time span is from the first to the fourteenth year of his rule, first in Samarqand and then in Panjikant. All years of his reign are found on the documents save the third, fourth, fifth, and ninth years.

In the article of V. A. and I. Ju. Kračkovskij it was shown, according to Ṭabarī, that Dīvāstīč was imprisoned and slain by the Arabs in 722. The latest document of our collection, dated in the fourteenth year of Dīvāstīč, therefore cannot have been

written after 722. From this date we can determine the beginning of the activity of Dīvāstīč, which cannot have been later than 708. At this time Ṭarχūn was the ruler of Samarqand, for Γurek became ruler only after a year. Thus Dīvāstīč was a contemporary of both Ṭarχūn and Γurek. What was his relation to them?

Since the first document in which Dīvāstīč is called " ruler of Panjikant " is dated in his sixth year, we may suppose that Dīvāstīč was called " Sogdian king, ruler of Samarqand " for at least five years but no more.

In the *T'ang shu*, under Sogdiana, we find: [15] " During the period *wan-sui t'ung-t'ien* (696) the great chief 篤娑鉢提 (Karlgren: *tuok sâ puât d'iei*) was named king. (He is not to be confused with *Tu sa po t'i* 篤薩波提 , ruler of Bukhara. Cf. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, 138.) At his death his son 泥涅師師 (Karlgren: *niei niet ṣi ṣi*) succeeded him. (Professor Lien-sheng Yang tells me that Fêng ch'êng-chün 馮承鈞 in his Chinese translation of Chavannes' book (Shanghai, 1934) 235, suggests that this is the Persian name " Narsés." Compare 泥涅師 the Sasanian prince, Chavannes, *op. cit.* 172. This is an old identification, first made by A. J. St. Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie*, 2 (Paris, 1819) 18, but it is by no means sure.) When he died the people of the country gave the title of king to 突昏 (Karlgren: *t'uət χuən*). Later 烏勒伽 (Karlgren: *uo lə ka*, i. e. Γurek) was king, followed by his son 咄曷 (Karlgren: *tś'iuət γât*).

Ṭarχūn appears for the first time in history (in Ṭabarī) in the year 704. He ruled until 709 or 710, when he was deposed. This corresponds to the reign of Dīvāstīč, for it is only in his sixth year that he is called " ruler of Panjikant." Dīvāstīč was no pretender, for his correspondents address him as " Sogdian king, ruler of Samarqand " in the earlier documents. So Dīvāstīč was the " Sogdian king, ruler of Samarqand " in the same years when, according to Chinese and Arabic sources, Ṭarχūn was ruler of Samarqand.

We may suppose then that Ṭarχūn did not die in 710 but retired

[15] E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, (St. Petersburg, 1903), pp. 136-7.

from Samarqand to Panjikant. He may have preserved some of the distinction he formerly held as head of the opposition against Γurek. Some difficulties, however, are encountered in the Arabic letter from Mt, Mugh. There the two sons of Ṭarχūn are mentioned. We do not know, however, *which* Ṭarχūn is meant in this letter. According to al-Bīrūnī [16] and a modern scholar,[17] Arabic *ṭarχūn* (Sogdian *tarχūn*) is not a proper name but a title, a variant of *tarχān*.

The words *tarχūn*/*tarχān* probably are not Sogdian but Turkish borrowed by Sogdian. In actual pronunciation the two words may have been even closer. The letter و in the word طرخون, written in a Semitic alphabet, does not necessarily represent a vowel sound; it may represent a consonant *v*. The word may have been pronounced something like *tarχ*^{v}*an*, Sogdian *trγwn*. The Sogdians may have used the combination -*γw*- to express a Turkish velar -*q*- of the word *trqn* which did not exist in Sogdian. In several cases the Sogdians represented the sound by -*γw*-, and in others by -*γ*-; cf. *γwtlwγ* "Qutluγ" in the "Ancient Letters," ed. REICHELT, *op. cit.*, 58. (N. B. This letter is written in cursive Sogdian.) The -*a*-, under the influence of the preceding -*v*-, was transformed into *o* or *u*.

In document 35 A 13, dated in the fourteenth year of Dīvāstīč, ruler of Panča, the word *trγ'n* appears. This letter was sent to him by the *β'žkr'm* "tax collector (< *β'ž* "tax," NP *bāj*, OP *bāji*) of Panjikant. In all probability this *trγ'n* is the same Dīvāstīč. The title *trγ'n* was used in Central Asia by ruling princes who were under the protection of the Turks of the West Turkish Khaganate. So Dīvāstīč could have used the title *tarχān* or *tarχūn* together with "Sogdian king, ruler of Samarqand," when it was necessary.

We have evidence in our documents that Ṭarχūn was not a proper name of the ruler of Samarqand who died in 710, for documents 3 nov. and 4 nov. (N. B. These are among the eight new documents found in June 1934, which are not described in the *Sogdijskij Sbornik*) on skins are both dated in the tenth year

[16] E. SACHAU, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker* (Leipzig, 1876), p. 101.

[17] J. WELLHAUSEN, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturtz* (Berlin, 1902), p. 270.

of king Ṭarχūn.[18] If the reign of Ṭarχūn-Dīvāstīč began in 704-5, then the tenth year is 714, or four years after the reputed death of Ṭarχūn. So Ṭarχūn-Dīvāstīč did not die but ruled in Panjikant. He also retained the title *tarχūn* or *tarχān*.

A. A. Freiman, "On the Name of the Sogdian Iχšid Gurek," *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* (1938) 3, 147-8:

The work of the scientific collaborator of the Academy of the History of Material Culture, G. V. Grigoriev, in the excavation of the site of Tali Barzu (about six km. southeast of Samarqand), had very profitable results which are extremely important for clarifying the history of Ṭarχūn and Γurek, and even earlier times. In a stratum dating to the first century B. C. there was found a piece of a cup with an inscription in Sogdian characters, which on paleographic grounds seems to be the oldest known Sogdian inscription.[19] In an upper stratum of the excavated area, among various objects characteristic of the eighth century A. D., two coins with the name *Ṭarχūn* (Tarχᵛan) *trγwn MLK'*, and one coin with the legend *'wγrk MLK'*, were found.[20]

The legend *trγwn MLK'*, i. e., "Tarχūn (Tarχᵛan) king," was already known from the coins from Mt. Mugh. This legend shows that the word *trγwn*, first a title, became a proper name. A change in significance of the word took place comparable with *korol* < *Karal* and *tsar*, *caesar* < *Caesar*.[21] The legend *'wγrk MLK'* must represent the name of the Sogdian ruler following Tarχūn / Ṭarxᵛan. The name *'wγrk* (actually its pronunciation according to the rules of Sogdian phonetics was *uγurak*) represents a name, the second variant of which is preserved in Arabic-Persian sources as نموری.[22] (In accord with Sogdian phonetics, the first vowel

[18] A. A. Freiman, "Novaja rabota po sogdijskomu kalendarju," *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, 4 (9) (1939), p. 125, note 3. Doc. 84, no. 4 has *trγwn MLK' 10 srδ 'γm'γy msβwγyč*, "Tarχūn king, tenth year, the month of *msβwγyč*."

[19] A. A. Freiman, "Drevnejšaja sogdijskaja nadpis," *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* (1939). 3, 135-6.

[20] O. I. Smirnova, "O trex sogdijskix monetax," *VDI* (1939).1, 116-120.

[21] *Karl* > **korlь* O. Ch. Sl. *kral'ь*. Russian *koról*, according to E. Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. 1 (Heidelberg, 1924) pp. 572-3.

[22] The reference is to *Ṭabarī* II, 1229.30, where no *nmwrī* is found. Could Freiman have intended *γūrī* for *γūrek*?

drops off. There are many examples, e. g., *pareč* : *apareč* " to hold back, abandon.") This is the Sogdian king known as Гurek. Sogdian *'wγrk*, i. e., *uγurak*, may be compared with OP *uγraka* " strong, powerful." The root *uγra-* " to be strong " is well attested in the Avesta referring to people and gods. It is an excellent term to be used as a personal name. An analogous name, with a simliar etymology, is MP *Pēroz*, *Parvēz*, with the meaning " victorious, surpassing in strength " < **pari- aojah*.

A. A. Freiman, " A Sogdian Inscription from Old Merv," *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedenija* 7 (1939) .296-302:

Two potsherds were found in the excavation of Giaur Kala, a mound in the oasis of Merv, with Sogdian inscriptions painted on them in the cursive (Buddhist) script. One was read as:

't βγw γwβw Rβčh " to the great lord king."
"wth prnw (?) δw twrγn[w] " portions to the glorious (?) tarχan."

(On the significance of the word *"wth*, cf. Freiman, " Dated Sogdian documents from Mt. Mugh," *op. cit.*, 141.)
The spelling of the word *twrγn[w]* together with *trγn* or *trγ'n* " tarχan," (a title used by the princes subordinate to the Turkish overlords of Central Asia) with a shifting vowel *a* or *u* (*trγ'n* or *twrγn*) in the first syllable before *γ*, corroborates the thesis of the identification of *tarχān* and *tarχūn*.

It is unknown whether the pots were originally brought to Merv by Sogdian traders, made in Merv by Sogdian colonists, or made by the people of Merv (indicating that the native language of Merv was Sogdian). The first or second proposition, however, is more probable than the third.

O. I. Smirnova, " New Data on the History of Sughd in the Eighth Century A. D., " *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* (1939), 4 (9), 97-102:

In the numismatic collections of the Hermitage and Samarqand museums are a number of coins with legends in a script almost

identical with the Buddhist Sogdian script of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. These coins may be divided into two classes, one with a square hole in the center of the coin (similar to Chinese coins), and the other without the hole and with the head of a ruler on the coin. On the coins of the latter class three different titles have been read: *MR'Y*, *γwβw*, and *βγy*—Sogdian for "lord," "king," and "*Herr*," respectively.

Among the coins of the first class are three pieces in the Hermitage with Chinese characters 開元通寶 *k'ai yüan t'ung pao* "coin of K'ai yüan," on the obverse. (Professor Lien-sheng YANG tells me that the legend does not mean "coin of K'ai yüan." The whole legend is only a phrase indicating currency of a new era.) On the reverse is the Sogdian word *βγy*. Chinese coins of the K'ai yüan class appear from the beginning of the year 621, so the Sogdian coins must date after this.

On a unique coin of the Hermitage of the first class, is a Sogdian inscription read as *twrγ'r MLK'*, "king *twrγ'r*." A unique coin of the second class, preserved in the Samarqand Museum, with the face of a ruler in the style of the Indo-Iranian coins on it, has an inscription in Sogdian read as *mtčyr MR'Y* "*afšīn mtčyr*." This coin has a marking on it similar to the mark on the coins of Ṭarχūn and Baχšumān, rulers of Sughd.[23] A similar sign is found on the coins of Khwārazm, and also on the Kufic coins of al-Ašʿas ibn Yaḥyā, governor of Samarqand for the ʿAbbāsids in 143-4/760-1. All of these details are significant for the reconstruction of the early history of Sughd.

According to Chinese sources, the ruler of Sughd, Ugurak (Γurek), was defeated by the Arabs, and in 719 A.D. turned to the T'ang court for aid. In 731 he requested the grant of the title "king of Ts'ao" 曹 (Quβāδiyān or Ištīχān of the Arabic sources) for one son T'u ho (KARLGREN: *tś'iuət γât*) and the title "king of Mi" 米 (Māimurγ of the Arabic sources) for another son 默啜 Mo cho (KARLGREN: *mək t'i̯ʷät*). This request was granted

[23] Cf. the article by SMIRNOVA, "O trex sogdijskix monetax," *op. cit.*, and FRYE, "Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana," *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 113 (New York, 1940), pp. 31-33.

by the son of heaven, and on the death of Ugurak, his son T'u ho succeeded him as ruler of Samarqand.

The name *twrγ'r*, mentioned above, is the original form of the Chinese T'u ho, and is probably of Turkish origin. The name Ṭarχūn, Sogdian *trγwn*, in Chinese is 突昏 (KARLGREN: *t'uət χuən*), which shows that the Sogdian form should be read *t^{w}rγwn*. This assumption is supported by the form *twrγ'n* [*sic*] found on a potsherd from Merv.[24] The second son of Ugurak, *mtčyr*, must be the *Mo cho* of the Chinese sources. So the Sogdian form *mtčyr* was pronounced something like *mət'yer*.[25] This name is also Turkish since it is found as the name of one of the rulers of the northern Turks. Since Ugurak died in 738, according to Chinese sources, the coin of T'u ho could not have been minted before that date.

In the article by V. A. and I. Ju. KRAČKOVSKIJ (see above), regarding the letter of Dīvāstīč to the governor of Khurasan, the two sons of Tarχūn are mentioned. They were identified as the sons of the ruler Ṭarχūn, but they are rather to be identified with the two sons of Ugurak, and the word *tarχūn* is to be taken as a title of the rulers of Samarqand.

II

The work of the Soviet scholars has led to some interesting conclusions which may best be summarized as follows:[26]

1. *Türχūn* (see preceding note) is the same word as *tarχān*, and is the title of the rulers of Samarqand. (KRAČKOVSKIJ evinced some scepticism regarding this identification.)

2. *Dēvāštīč* was the personal name of the ruler of Samarqand known simply as *Ṭürχūn* in the Arabic sources.

3. Türχūn—Dēvāštīč did not die in 710, when he ceased to be

[24] Cf. note 18.

[25] He is the al-Mχtār, son of Turek, of *Ṭabarī* II, 1523.9.

[26] From the Chinese sources (as SMIRNOVA indicated above) it would seem that the pronunciation of the proper name was *Türχūn*, and I have adopted that spelling. HENNING has already shown that the proper way of reading the second name is probably *Dēvāštīč*; I have also adopted this spelling.

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ruler of Samarqand, but retired to Panjikant where he was killed by the Arabs in 722.

4. Γurek (Ugurak) succeeded Dēvāštīč and ruled Samarqand from 710 to 738 when he was succeeded by his son Twrγ'r.

While this explanation of the sequence of events has much to commend it, it is by no means the only interpretation, nor, in my opinion, is it the best one. The hypothesis proposed below seems to fit the facts, as we know them, somewhat better.

The information from Arabic and Chinese sources has been given by the Soviet scholars, but there are certain facts about the documents themselves which must be noted.

1. There are documents of the first and second years of the rule of Dēvāštīč, in which he is called "king of Sughd, ruler of Samarqand."

2. The rest of the dated documents of Dēvāštīč have the title "ruler of Panjikant," to the fourteenth year of his reign.

3. Among the documents in the archives of Dēvāštīč there is at least one dating from the tenth year of king Türχūn.

4. The letter in Arabic indicates that the sons of Türχūn are under the protection of Dēvāštīč, and that he intends to entrust them to the Arabs.

From points three and four above, it would seem that Türχūn and Dēvāštīč were close friends or relatives. (FREIMAN, of course, assumed that they were the same person.) It is more probable that they were close relatives, if not brothers.[27]

We know that Central Asia at the time of the Arab conquests was divided into a multitude of small states. The *MLK'* of Sughd (which is probably a mask for *iχšīd* "ruler" [< *χšay* "to rule"]) was overlord over the *MR'Y* (*afšīn*) of the small principalities in Sughd. The *MLK'* of Sughd was also *MR'Y* of Samarqand, the most important city. From Chinese sources (CHAVANNES, *op. cit.*, 135-6), we learn that in 696 a great dihqān *tu*

[27] It is also possible to suppose that there was a double sovereignty in Sughd. Dēvāštīč may have ruled Sughd and Samarqand while Türχūn was in the field. The problem of double sovereignty, however, is quite involved; cf. A. ALFÖLDI, "La royauté double des Turcs," *IIème Congrès Turc d'Histoire* (Istanbul, 1937).

so po t'i (KARLGREN: *tuok sâ puât d'iei*) became ruler of Samarqand. Two years later his son *niei 'tsiwo* (or *niet*) *ṣi ṣi* ascended the throne on the death of his father. When the son died presumably ca. 700) the people of the country gave the title of king to *t'uət χuən* or Türχūn. In 701-2 the western Turks under prince Kül Tegin invaded Sughd. Presumably Türχūn met the threat.[28]

A new danger threatened from the other direction. In 705 the Arabs appeared in Sughd. Türχūn fought them but finally made peace with the Arab leader, Qutayba ibn Muslim. As a result of this submission to the Arabs, Türχūn was deposed by the people of Samarqand in the year 91/709-10 (probably in 709). He entrusted his children to the care of Dēvāštīč and then killed himself. The people of Samarqand had had enough of the family of Türχūn; they gave the throne to an outsider, Ɣurek, a member of the princely house of Ušrūsana.[29]

Dēvāštīč, nothing daunted, proclaimed himself king of Sughd, ruler of Samarqand, possibly with the approbation of Qutayba ibn Muslim. Ɣurek, on the other hand, sought the support of the Turks and the Chinese. For a number of years there was much fighting, but Qutayba was finally victorious. He had to make peace with Ɣurek, however, who was supported by the populace. After the fall and death of Qutayba Ɣurek was undisputed ruler of Samarqand and Sughd. Dēvāštīč had retired to Panjikant, and in the year 104/722-3 he was killed by the Arabs in their campaign against the Sogdians. The range of his documents, to his fourteenth year, I take to be from 709 to 723.

Admittedly much of this reconstruction is hypothetical (and I hope to deal with the history of this period elsewhere), but I believe it fits the facts better than the hypothesis of FREIMAN—that Dēvāštīč is identical with Türχūn.

The arguments against the identification of Türχūn and Dēvāštīč are many; among them are the following:

1. The Arabic sources specifically say that Türχūn died in 709-

[28] Cf. MARQUART, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 5, 58.

[29] Cf. W. TOMASCHEK, "Centralasiatische Studien I," *SWAW* 87 (1877) 142.

710, and nowhere in them is the slightest indication that he is to be identified with Dēvāštīč.

2. There is no reason why Dēvāštīč, in his Arabic letter to al-Jarrāḥ, should speak of his own sons as "the sons of Türχūn." They must be the sons of Türχūn who died in 710.

3. Dēvāštīč considered himself the *maulā* "client" of al-Jarrāḥ, while Türχūn was the *maulā* of Qutayba ibn Muslim.

4. *Türχūn* is a personal name, not to be confused with the title *tarχān*, as had been done since the time of the Turkish invasions of the Near East, and by modern scholars as well.

a) Chinese sources clearly distinguish *Türχūn* and *tarχān*.

b) *Türχūn* appears as a personal name in Islamic sources; e. g. in the *Kitāb al-qand fī ta'rīχ Samarqand* of al-Nasafī (Bartold, *Turkestan v epoxu Mongolskaja Našestvija* [St. Petersburg, 1898], teksty, 48.) we find, "When Qutayba arrived the king of Samarqand was Γuzak (*sic* read Γurek) the Magian. It is related that Γurek had two brothers, one called Ṭürχūn, and the other Āqārūn. Āqārūn was small and younger. Γurek came out of the city and four parasangs from it built a town as the center of the district. He called it *Frnkt* [30] and gave it to his brother."

c) It is unlikely that Sogdian *trγ n* (found in the *Mahrnāmaγ* and on the inscription of Karabalsaghun) is the same as *trγwn*/ *twrγn* of FREIMAN. The first is clearly a title, while the latter must be a name. I give only two details here: *trγwn MLK'* can hardly be two titles. W. B. HENNING, "Zum soghdischen Kalendar," *op. cit.*, p. 89, note 1, has noted another objection.

d) The literature on the word *tarχān* is immense. It is generally accepted that the word is Altaic. Cf. ALFÖLDI ANDRÁS, "A tarchan méltóságnev eredete," *Magyar Nyelv*, 28 (1932) .205-220. For the various forms of the word in different languages cf. H. W. BAILEY, "Indo-Turcica," *BSOS* 9 (1938) .300, and especially his "Turks in Khotanese Texts," *JRAS* (1939) .112.

For new material on the history of the use of the word by the Turks cf. S. P. TOLSTOV, "K istorii drevnetjurkskoj socialnoj

[30] *Frnkt* (Firankat < Sogdian *prn* and *kath* "glorious city"?) was the capital of Sughd, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. G. FLÜGEL (Leipzig, 1871), p. 18.

terminologii," *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii,* (1938) .2, 72-81, and A Zeki Velidi TOGAN, *Umumî Türk Tarihine Giriş,* 1 (Istanbul, 1946), pp. 285-7 and 485.

In short, the statements of J. WELLHAUSEN, *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturtz* (Berlin, 1902) 270, and H. H. SCHAEDER, art. " Samarqand " in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* that *Türχūn* is the same as *tarχān*, a title, are to be revised.

POSTSCRIPT

After this article was in proof I received a copy of *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* 6 (1949), in which was an article by O. I. SMIRNOVA, " Sogdian Coins as a New Source for the History of Central Asia," pp. 356-367. The author proposes a solution of the problem of Dīvāštīč which is different from mine or that of FREIMAN. It is interesting to note that SMIRNOVA has accepted HENNINGS's reading of the name *Dīvāštīč*. Other changes are the readings *Ugrak* for *Ugurak* and *twrγ'γ* for *twrγ'r*, the son of Γurek. I give a summary of SMIRNOVA's article below with comments added in the footnotes.

The article shows the importance of the Sogdian coins excavated at Mt. Mugh and Tali Barzu for a reconstruction of the history and chronology of the rulers of Sogdiana at the time of the Arab conquests. In a survey of Chinese sources on the history of Transoxiana, SMIRNOVA identifies the Kangü area of the Chinese authors as the Sughd of the Arabs, with its center at Samarqand.[31]

[31] This is the Chinese *K'ang-chü* 康居 (KARLGREN: *k'âng kiwo*). A. N. BERNŠTAM, a Soviet archeologist, has disputed this identification in a number of his writings, e. g., *Pamjatniki Stariny Talacckoj Doliny* (Alma-Ata, 1941), p. 11, and in his review of TOLSTOV's book (below) in *Izvestija Akademij Nauk, Serija Istorii i Filosofii,* 6 (1949) .93-6. BERNŠTAM believes *K'ang-chü* to be an area in present-day Kirghizistan around the Talas and Chu River valleys. Others who hold the same position are O. FRANKE, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches,* Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1930), p. 337, and O. MAENCHEN, "Huns and Hsiung-nu," *Byzantion* 17 (1944-1945) .230. S. P. TOLSTOV in his interesting book *Drevnij Xorezm* (Moscow, 1948), p. 190, however, maintains that the Chinese term refers to Khwārazm. In support of this he quotes a legend on a Khwārazmian coin which he reads *K'ng MR' MLK' 'skwčwr prrk* "lord king of Kāng, Askūčvar, blessing." The reading is by no means certain. SMIRNOVA's view,

In a footnote SMIRNOVA says, "The designation Kangü is found only in Chinese sources. It had a different significance for different periods, and thus it is possible to seek a clarification of the etymology of the word. The character *kan* has the meaning flowering, tranquil'; *gü* means 'dwelling place, country.' So the whole may be interpreted as 'the tranquil dwelling place.'"[32]

On the Sogdian coins four titles have been deciphered: *MLK'*, *MR'y*, *βγw*, and *γwβw*; and seven proper names: *šyšpyr*, *βšwm'n*, *'wk'sp'δk*, *trγwn*, *'wyrk*, *twrγ'γ*, and *mtčyr*. The ideogram *MLK'* represents the title recorded in Arabic sources as *iχšīd*, in Buddhist Sogdian texts in the form **χšēwan*, and in Manichaean Sogdian texts as *χšēδ*.[33] The ideogram *MR'y* is the *afšīn* of the Arabic

which is presumably that of FREIMAN, *Altmeister* of Iranian Studies in Russia, has the most to commend it, but the identification is far from sure. See the following note.

[32] The translation of the Chinese characters explains nothing. MARKWART identifies the Chinese designation with Sogdiana, *Kanha* of the Avesta, in his *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr* (Rome, 1931), pp. 26-27. In his *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), pp. 188, he goes further and equates the name with the Καχάγαι Σκύθαι of Ptolemy, Sogdian **Kāx-ag*. In "Die Sogdiana des Ptolemaios," *Orientalia* (1946), offprint, p. 124, he adds MP *kang*, and *ibid.*, p. 318, he says, "Καχάγαι entpuppt sich jetzt von selbst als das lang gesuchte Äquivalent der chinesischen Umschreibung *K'ang-ki* und ist der eigentliche politische Name des Volkes = skyth. **Kaxa-ga*, Plur. **Kaxa-ga-ta* 'Bewohner von Kanha.'" HERZFELD, however, in *Zoroaster and his World*, Vol. 1 (Princeton, 1947), p. 78, identifies *Kanha* with Gurganj in Khwārazm, and adds, "In the Kartēr inscriptions a figure called 'kangopet, lord of Kang?' seems to play the role of Virgil in Dante. The NP. form is Gang, for a mythical place only." I must confess I can find no *kangopet* in any of the inscriptions of Kartēr. In the Sar Mašhad inscription there does appear several times an enigmatic expression, *Zy·krtyr χnglpy*. Cf. my "Report on a Trip to Iran in the Summer of 1948," *Oriens* 2 (1949) .209. This can hardly be read as *kangopet*. There is great confusion in the Chinese sources as well as the Iranian in regard to this *kang*.

[33] The title is found as *γšyδ* = *χšēδ* in Buddhist Sogdian; cf. E. BENVENISTE, *Textes Sogdiens* (Paris, 1940), p. 236, where references are given to other texts where the word appears. Comp. Av. *χšaēta* in C. BARTHOLOMAE, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg, 1904), p. 541.

SMIRNOVA changes *MR'Y* to *MR'y*, but compare Aramaic *mari* and cf. O. HANSEN, "Die mittelpersischen Papyri der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin," *Abhandlungen der Preuszischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1938), p. 29.

If I remember correctly, HENNING derives *afšīn* from *χšēwan*. On the matter of *fš-* < *χš-* (and *ks* of Khotanese Saka), cf. H. W. BAILEY, "Hvatanica," *BSOS* 9 (1937) .75. P. HORN in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, Erster Band, 2. Abteilung (Strassburg, 1898-1901), p. 40, compares *afšīn* with Av.*Pišinah* or *Pisina*; cf. F. JUSTI, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), p. 253.

texts. The title *MLK'* is found on the coins of six of the rulers mentioned above, and the coins are all similar to Chinese prototypes, with a square hole in the center. The title *afšīn* of Arabic sources (*MR'y* of Sogdian) was applied to the rulers of Maīmurγ (on coins), Panjikant (in the Mt. Mugh documents), and to the ruler of Samarquand (Arabic sources). The title *iχšīd* is of a higher rank than *afšīn*, as is proved by the Arabic sources which say that "*al-iχšīd* in the language of Ferghana means kings of kings."[34]

Study of the numismatic material reveals that coins of the Chinese type have been found only in Samarqand and Kish. This discovery is indicative of Chinese influence in the large trading centers but not elsewhere. Five rulers of Samarqand ruling in the latter half of the seventh century A. D. and the first half of the eighth have been identified by their coins. One otherwise unknown ruler of Kish, šišpir by name, has been established.

The word *γwβw* appears on many of the coins. Although the etymology of this word is unclear it seems to have some relation to the title *čozbo*, found in Kharoṣṭhī texts from Central Asia, and to the name given in Chinese sources for the ruling family of Sogdiana—*chao wu* 昭武 (KARLGREN: *tśi̯äu mi̯u*).[35]

Frequently in the letters from Mt. Mugh one finds the formula *'t βγw γwβw* "to the god king." In these formulae it seems that the terms *γwβw* and *βγw* do not have the significance of titles but rather of signs that the bearer belongs to a privileged class. This is analogous to the use of *dihqān* in Arabic sources. (In

[34] I have failed to find *malik al-mulūk* in the Arabic sources, but *malik* alone appears many times.

[35] The forms given by KARLGREN throw grave doubt on SMIRNOVA's theory. The equation of *γwβw* with *čozbo* is very doubtful, and with *ch'ao wu* even more. HENNING derives *čozbo* [read *cojhbo*; F. W. THOMAS protests against the former transliteration in his "Some Notes on Central-Asian Kharoṣṭhī Documents," *BSOAS* 11 (1945).520, note 5] from Av. *čazdahvant*; cf. T. BURROW, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge 1937), p. 91. THOMAS identifies the Kharoṣṭhī Prakrit word *cojhbo* with Chinese 且渠 (KARLGREN: *tsi̯wo gi̯wo* for Han times and *ts'i̯a k'i̯uət* for T'ang times) in his "Some Notes on the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan," *Acta Orientalia*, 13 (1935).75. The word *γwβ(w)* has been identified on the coins of Bukhara by HENNING *apud* FRYE, *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana* (New York, 1949), p. 28.

support of this SMIRNOVA cites the story of the 'Abbāsid general Afšīn as related in E. G. BROWNE, *A Literary History of Persia* [London, 1909], pp. 330-336.) SMIRNOVA concludes that there was a hierarchy of three grades in Sogdiana in the seventh century A. D. The top of the three was the *ixšīd* (*MLK'*). Under the *ixšīd* came the *afšīn* (*MR'y*), and finally the *γwβw*.[36]

The decipherment of the coins of the rulers of Samarqand has permitted the reconstruction of chronology as follows:

ixšīd.	*Sogdian form*	*Chinese* (KARLGREN)	*Arabic*	*Years of Rule*
Vaxšuman	*βγšwm'n*	*p'iuət χuo man* 拂呼縵	——	650/5–696
Tukaspadak	*twk'sp'δk*	*tuok sâ puât d'iei* 篤薩波提	——	696–698
Ninišyše	——	*niei niet si si* 泥涅師師	——	698–700 (?)
Turχūn	*trγwn*	*t'uət χuən* 突昏	*ṭarχūn*	700–710
Ugrak	*'wγrk*	*uo lə ka* 烏勒伽	*γūrak*	710–721
Ugrak				
Dīvāštīč	*δyw'štyč*	——	*dīwāštī*	721–722
Ugrak				721–738
Turγaγ	*twrγ'γ*	*tś'iuet γât* 咄曷～喝	*yazīd*	738–(?)

The Sogdian form of Arabic *Ṭarχūn* is *trγwn* on the coins and *twrγn* in the documents from Mt. Mugh.[37] The son of Ugrak, *twrγ'γ*, bore a Turkish name (comp. Turkish *turgai*), and he is probably the Yazīd, son of Ugrak, mentioned by Naršaχī in his *History of Bukhara*, ed. C. SCHEFER (Paris, 1892), page 32, line 14. Yazīd is thus his Muslim name.

It is now possible to solve the problem of the identity of Dīvāštīč, who is not, as FREIMAN supposed, the same person as Ṭurχun. Dīvāštīč was the leader of the revolt of the Sogdians against the Arabs in 721 and 722 A. D. During these two years he was "king of Sughd, ruler of Samarqand," while Ugrak remained on the side of the Arabs. Dīvāštīč was shortly thereafter forced to flee from Samarqand but he retained his title. Thus, there were two rulers of Samarqand at the same time. Dīvāštīč

[36] I fail to follow SMIRNOVA's reasoning. Were there more than one *γwβw* and *afšīn*?

[37] This is a communication from FREIMAN, who may have changed his transcription of the name in some of the documents which seem to have *tryγn*, as reported in the *Sogdijskij Sbornik*.

was soon captured and executed by the Arabs. His reign lasted only two years, which is the time-extent of the documents from Mt. Mugh which give him this title.[38]

I have also received a volume of *Kratkie Soobščenija o dokladax i polevyx issledovanijax instituta istorii material'noj kultury* 28 (1949), in which were three articles of interest with regard to our subject. The first was by A. Ju. JAKUBOVSKY—"Raboty Sogdijsko-Tadžikskoj arxeologičeskoj ekspedicii 1947 g," pages 48-53. He reports the discovery of Sogdian coins of the eighth century A. D. and three seals with Sogdian writing in the excavations of Panjikant. V. A. KRAČKOVSKAJA writes on "Evoljucija kufičeskogo šrifta v Srednej Azii," pages 94-6, and includes an analysis of the letters of Divaštič. Finally we have the article by O. I. SMIRNOVA, "Sogdijskie monety iz raskopok v Pjandžikente," pages 97-100. In one site twenty-four coins were found: one obol, one Bukhar Khudat, four copper coins with Arabic legends, and the rest Sogdian coins. On one coin from Usrušana SMIRNOVA reads *γwβw tr''βn* "King Travan" (?). On the coins with Arabic legends, the marke of the ruler of Sogdiana is found.

[38] SMIRNOVA's hypothesis seems plausible except for the significant fact that all of the documents, as reported in FREIMAN's publications, dated in the first and second year of the reign of Dīvāštīč, have the phrase "king of Sughd, ruler of Samarqand." None of them have "ruler of Panjikant." So Dīvāštīč was ruler of Panjikant *after* he was ruler of Samarqand. Without access to the documents and coins from Sogdiana (or even adequate reproductions of them) it is impossible to come to any definite conclusions. The work of the Soviet scholars is very important, however, and should not be overlooked by anyone interested in the history of Central Asia.

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NOTES ON THE EARLY COINAGE OF TRANSOXIANA

The American Numismatic Society Broadway
At 156th street New York 1949

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BUKHĀRĀN AND KHWĀRAZMIAN COINS

NOTES ON THE EARLY COINAGE OF TRANSOXIANA[1]

INTRODUCTION

THE history of the lands between the Oxus and Jaxartes Rivers in pre-Islamic times is still largely veiled, chiefly because of the paucity of literary sources. The coins, seals and archaeological monuments consequently have to bear more than their share of the burden in the reconstruction of the events of the past. Because of the lack of other aids and references, the identification and deciphering of the legends on the coins from this region have proved most difficult. Many coin types present unsolved problems for the numismatist, and much work remains to be done.

Fortunately the sands of Chinese Turkestan have revealed a wealth of archaeological material, well preserved by the dry climate, among which the manuscript fragments in various languages loom large in importance. It is not the place here to describe the treasures, both artistic and literary, brought back to European museums and libraries by Sir Aurel Stein, P. Pelliot, Gründwedel, Le Coq, and others in the first two decades before the first World War.[2] These finds also have a significance for the history of Western Turkestan, the Transoxiana of the ancients. First, however, it is necessary to survey briefly

[1] This study is an expanded section from my translation and notes to Narshakhī's *History of Bukhara*. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. W. B. Henning, who read the first draft and made many valuable suggestions and additions, and who proposed the new reading of the legends on the coins of Bukhara (see below), and to Dr. George C. Miles, who gave valuable aid on bibliography, plates, and the final draft of this study. (*N.B.*—The full titles of journals are given in the first references to them; thereafter they are abbreviated. Numismatic journals which are well known, such as the *Revue Numismatique*, however, are abbreviated throughout the work.)

[2] *Cf.* A. von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1928), 25–28.

the linguistic picture of both Eastern and Western Turkestan before these lands came under the influence of the Turks, the former primarily in the eighth and ninth centuries, the latter in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of our era.

In the northern part of the Tarim basin of Chinese Turkestan the so-called "Tocharian" languages *A* and *B* were spoken. Much speculation on the identification of the people who spoke these languages has been made, but at the present we can only say that *A* was used by the people of Agni (modern Karashahr), while *B* was the language of Kucha.[3] Related to these two *centum* languages of the Indo-European family was the original language of the kingdom of Krorayina, which was situated between Lou-lan, Endere, and Niya in the eastern part of the Tarim Basin. This language is preserved only in a few words, survivals in the Indian Prakrit which later became the language of this area, and which is preserved in the Kharoṣṭhi manuscript fragments discovered by Sir Aurel Stein.[4] In the southern part of the Tarim Basin an Iranian tongue, Khotanese-Śaka, was employed. The town of Khotan was the center for this language, although a dialect of it has been found in manuscript fragments from the town of Maralbashi, to the northeast of Kashgar.[5] This language had close affinities to that of the Śaka invaders of India in the second century B.C., remains of which we find preserved on inscriptions in India from the second century A.D.[6] In addition to these indigenous languages, there were a number of "outside" tongues in use. Sogdian, an East Iranian language, was used by traders, colonists, and missionaries, the last composed of

[3] For the latest information see H. W. Bailey, "Recent Work in Tokharian," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London, 1947), 126–153.

[4] T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge, 1937), viii.

[5] S. Konow, "Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt," *Sitzungsberichte der Preusslichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1935, no. 20.

[6] Konow, *Khotansakische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1941), 2.

Buddhists, Manichaeans, or Christians. The canonical language of the Manichaeans was Parthian, a Middle Persian tongue, remains of which were also found among the documents from Chinese Turkestan. Pahlevi fragments and texts in related dialects were also discovered. The dialects of these languages complicate the picture considerably. Syriac, and later Turkish and Tibetan materials, illustrate the veritable linguistic gold mine which Chinese Turkestan proved to be.

In Western Turkestan, in addition to Sogdian (and the Middle Persian dialects in Iran), there was a separate language in Khwārazm (modern Khiva), and another tongue spoken by the Hephtalites, who came from the east in the fifth century A.D. (*cf.* below). It is probable that all were Iranian languages, spoken in Transoxiana before the Turkish expansion. Here the sole archaeological expeditions have been Russian, and the reports have been few and singularly lacking in details.

We shall be concerned principally with the Khwārazmian coins and the "Sogdian" coins of Bukhara, although other types will be mentioned. For purposes of convenience the work has been divided into five sections: the earliest coinage of Transoxiana, the coins of Khwārazm, the coins of Bukhara, other Sogdian coins, and the early Islamic coins. Problems in the decipherment of the coins of Khwārazm, and a new reading for the Sogdian legend on the coins of Bukhara are presented. As addenda, the section on coinage of the Persian text of Narshakhī's *History of Bukhara*, based on new manuscripts, and a translation with notes, will clarify certain outstanding problems in the interpretation of this significant source.

Since the publication of J. de Morgan's summary of the pre-Islamic coinage of the Near East and Central Asia, no review of the coin types of Central Asia has appeared.[7] Much new

[7] J. de Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale*, I (Paris, 1923–1936). This volume was compiled from notes after the death of the author and leaves much to be desired.

material has been discovered by archaeological expeditions in Soviet Central Asia since then. It is difficult, however, to obtain many of the Soviet accounts of numismatic discoveries, still more to make use of the incomplete descriptions and poor plates. Nevertheless, an attempt to bring together information on the various coin types of Transoxiana may prove of some use.

A discussion of all the coins is impossible, and only the Khwārazmian, and the so-called "Bukhār Khudāh" coins have been examined in any detail. The criterion for the discussion of any coin in this study is its provenance. It is of some significance for the history of Central Asia, I think, if Byzantine coins are found in sites in the Altai Mountains, but the study of these coins is obviously the province of the numismatist who specializes in Byzantine coins. Generalizations on the significance of finds of coins in Transoxiana are to be avoided, for this region was a crossroad of trade, and many foreign coins were certain to be found here. The identification of mint marks is almost hopeless, while similarities in design and execution frequently can be deceiving. The decipherment of many of the coins is hindered by our incomplete knowledge of Khwārazmian and other tongues of Central Asia. It is to be hoped that the linguist will cooperate with the numismatist in this work, and so aid in the reconstruction of the history of Transoxiana.

I. The Earliest Coinage

To my knowledge, no hoards of Achaemenid coins have been found in Transoxiana, a fact which would cast doubt on the assumption that coins were minted locally at this time. Since Bactria and Sogdiana were provinces of the Achaemenid empire, one would suppose that the coins of the Persian monarchs were current in Transoxiana, although we have no direct evidence.[8] There is also no evidence that coinage was

[8] E. Drouin, "Monnaies des grands Kouchans," *RN* (1896), 173, interprets

known here previously. It is improbable that Alexander the Great had coins struck in Transoxiana, for it was the eastern frontier of his empire which was insecurely held. According to C. Seltman, *Greek Coins* (London, 1933), 206, Alexander "usually left untouched the local system for marking magisterial responsibility that he happened to find already in operation." The Attic system, however, soon replaced the various older Asiatic systems.

Numismatics almost alone has reconstructed the Greco-Bactrian and Kushan king-lists. The coins of the early Seleucids are rarely found in Eastern Iran and Transoxiana, and it is only with the coins of the Greek rulers of Bactria that we are on relatively safe ground. Many Greco-Bactrian coins, beginning with the reign of Heliocles (died *ca.* 159 B.C.), and including many previously unknown issues, are said to have been found in the excavation of the great Ferghāna canal in Uzbekistan just before the late war.[9] It is interesting to note that the *earliest* coins found in this excavation, *i.e.*, in what was probably the northernmost province of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom, belong to Heliocles, the *last* of these monarchs to rule this territory before it was lost to nomad invaders.[10] At Panjikant, south of Samarkand, a new type of coin-medal of Antimachus I, struck in honor of his predecessor Euthydemos I (*ca.* 170 B.C.), was found. At a near-by site four obols of Euthydemos were uncovered together with copper coins having non-Greek legends.[11] This would serve to substantiate

the finding of several copper coins in Transoxiana, which have the figure of a king piercing an upright lion (Achaemenid style) upon them, as proof of the circulation of Achaemenid coins in Transoxiana long after the fall of the Achaemenid empire. There is not enough evidence at hand to substantiate this.

[9] M. Voronets, "Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya 1937–1939 gg. v Uz. SSR," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1940, fasc. 3–4, 338.

[10] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1938), 279.

[11] B. Kastalskii, "Neizdannaya greko-baktriiskaya tetradrakhma-medal Antimakha I, bitaya v chest Evtidema I," *VDI*, 1940, fasc. 3–4, 347.

the contention that Euthydemos ruled Sogdiana, and that he may have been originally satrap of that region before his conquests south of the Oxus River.[12] Many barbaric imitations of the coins of Euthydemos were also found in the vicinity of Samarkand.[13] The coin type of Euthydemos, then, served as a model for the later coinage of non-Greek rulers. These latter coins were perhaps the first coins minted in Sogdiana, although this is purely a surmise based on their provenance.[14] There are three types of these coins: the first with a Greek legend only, the second with mixed Greek and Aramaic (in fact early Sogdian, but designated as Aramaic by Allotte de la Fuÿe because of its origin), and the third with an all-Sogdian legend.[15] J. de Morgan tentatively assigned the first group to a date prior to the Yüeh-chih invasion of Transoxiana before 140 B.C.[16] The coins with mixed legends were assigned to the period of Yüeh-chih domination in Transoxiana, and the last series was said to be contemporary with the Indo-Śaka king Maues, whom de Morgan placed *ca.* 120–

[12] Tarn, *op. cit.*, 83. Many Greco-Bactrian coins were found in the mound of Tali Barzu in the Samarkand district, according to G. V. Grigor'ev, "Poseleniya drevnego Sogda," *Kratkie Soobshcheniya*, 6 (Moscow, 1940), 30.

[13] Kastalskii, *op. cit.*, 347; Tarn, *op. cit.*, 164, note 212.

[14] No mint marks of cities in Transoxiana have been identified on these coins, but their weight and the location of the majority of the sites where they were found led Allotte de la Fuÿe to assign them to the territory of ancient Sogdiana, modern Uzbekistan; *cf.* A. de la Fuÿe, "Monnaies incertaines de la Sogdiane et des contrées voisines," *RN*, quatrième série, 14 (1910), -333, and plates II and III.

[15] A. de la Fuÿe, *op. cit.*, Plate II, and the continuation of the same article in *RN*, 28 (1925), 31.

[16] J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, 418. The invasion of the Yüeh-chih seems to have lasted over an extended period of time. According to Tarn, *op. cit.*, 276–277, they left their home in Kansu province, West China, *ca.* 176 B.C. Fifteen years later they were in Western Turkestan near Lake Issyk Kul, while in 128 B.C. they were on the Oxus.

90 B.C.[17] Since the Yüeh-chih (if we can assign this Chinese name to the nomad invaders who established themselves in Transoxiana after the fall of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom) copied the coinage of their predecessors, one would suppose that they also retained their mint towns. This is to assume that there were mint town(s) of the Greco-Bactrian sovereigns north of the Oxus River. It is improbable that the Yüeh-chih had a numismatic tradition before they invaded the West, hence imitations of the local coinage were inevitable.[18] The exact relation of the Kushans to the Yüeh-chih cannot be discussed here. The accepted view is that the former were one of the tribes or sub-divisions of the Yüeh-chih who gained ascendancy over the others. The attempts to equate the name *Kushan* with the name *Yüeh-chih* have not been convincing.[19] In any case the Kushan empire, with Kanishka as the best-known monarch, succeeded the Greco-Bactrian state as the dominant power in Transoxiana and modern Afghanistan.

Kushan coins have been found in Soviet Central Asia in greater numbers than Greco-Bactrian coins, and small hoards have been uncovered in various sites, some widely separated. In the excavation of Baikand, near Bukhara, a large quantity of Kushan coins was discovered in a preliminary survey.[20]

[17] J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, 418.

[18] The coins of Hermaios, the last Greco-Bactrian king of Kabul, with Chinese characters, have been explained by Tarn, *op. cit.*, 338. Professor Lien-sheng Yang of the Harvard-Yenching Institute proposes a different reading of the Chinese characters on these coins, as reproduced in J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, 363; 銅錢重廿四銖, *t'ung-ch'ien chung nien ssŭ shu*, "copper-coin [weight] twenty-four *shu*." The stylized characters on the other coin reproduced on the same page are read by Professor Yang as 六銖錢, liu shu ch'ien, "coin [weight] six *shu*."

[19] *Cf.* R. Shafer, "Linguistics in History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 67 (1947), 296–305.

[20] A. Yu. Yakubovskii, "Zarafshanskaya arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya 1939 g," *Kratkie Soobshcheniya*, 4 (Moscow, 1940), 51, and his "Zarafshanskaya ekspeditsiya 1939 g," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2 (Leningrad, 1940), 63.

The mound of Tali Barzu, in the Zarafshān River valley near Samarkand, also yielded many Kushan coins in the level above the Greco-Bactrian stratum.[21] In various sites of ancient Khwārazm (modern Khiva), many Kushan coins have been found, as well as Kushan coins overstruck with the so-called "Khwārazmian" sign, an S.[22] The discovery of Kushan coins in Khwārazm, and in other scattered sites in Central Asia, however, need not signify the existence of a great Kushan confederacy, or of a northern and southern Kushan dynasty, as Tolstov has suggested.[23] One needs more and fuller evidence for such a conclusion. Byzantine coins, and coins from the Bosphorean kingdom of Southern Russia, have been found as far east as the Altai Mountains, where there hardly could have been any political influence.[24] Tolstov has studied the pre-Islamic Central Asian coinage and has come to the conclusion that the Kushan, Khwārazmian and so-called "Heraya" coins are related, which implies a political-cultural relation. Later, Tolstov reported that the finds of coins at Toprak-kala in the territory of ancient Khwārazm permitted him to say that the coins of Heraya were a branch of the Khwārazmian mintage.[25] The last-named coins have been known for a long time, but their identification has been a matter of dispute.[26] Although these

[21] Grigor'ev, "Gorodishche Tali-barzu," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2 (Leningrad, 1940), 96.

[22] S. P. Tolstov, "Novye materialy po istorii Khorezma," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1946, part 1, 74.

[23] S. P. Tolstov in a review of A. N. Zograf, *Monety Geraya* (Tashkent, 1937), 36 pp., in *VDI*, 1939, part 2, 119.

[24] S. Kiselev, "Nakhodka antichnykh i bizantiiskikh monet na Altae," *VDI*, 1940, parts 3–4, 360–362.

[25] Tolstov, "Novye materialy po istorii Khorezma," *op. cit.*, 78. *Cf.* below the discussion of Khwārazmian coins.

[26] *Cf.* P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* (London, 1886), xlvii, 116, and plate **XXIV**; A. Cunningham, "Coins of the Indo-Scythian King Miaüs, or Heraüs,"

coins were first found in Afghanistan, the Soviet scholar thinks they were struck at a mint, or mints, to the north of the Oxus River, primarily because of their resemblance to the coins of Khwārazm.[27] The name of this ruler has also been read as Miaos, and Tarn goes further when he says that Miaos was the first chieftain of the Yüeh-chih to issue coins on the model of the Greco-Bactrians.[28] He is dated *ca.* 50 B.C., and his coins are attributed to the mint at Kapisa (Begram).[29] Tarn's analysis of these coins would contradict the thesis of Tolstov, which is based solely on stylistic similarities.

It is not the purpose of the present study to discuss the problems of Kushan coinage, which are obscure and complicated. The identification of mint towns from letters and signs found on these coins is still a matter of mere guesswork and unacceptable as a basis for further study. Many Kushan coins have been found north of the Oxus River, and one would assume the existence of mints in this area rather than the importation of all the coins from the south. Further complications arise from a disputed chronology of the Kushan rulers. Recently R. Ghirshman has proposed a new chronology on the assumption that there were four dynasties: the early Kushans, the house of Kanishka and his successors, the later Kushans, and the Kidārites (the last of the Kushans), named after their chieftain. The key date of the accession of Kanishka is placed

Numismatic Chronicle, third series, 8 (1888), 47–58; Cunningham, "Coins of the Sakas," *NC*, third series, 10 (1890), 112–115; Allotte de la Fuÿe, "Monnaies incertaines de la Sogdiane II," *RN* (1925), 36–41; S. P. Tolstov, "K voprosu o monetakh Geraya," *VDI* (1939), 2, 114–117. Tolstov identifies this ruler as a Kushan governor (*yabgu*) of Sogdiana in his "Monety drevnego Khorezma," *VDI*, 1938, part 4 (5), 122, 128.

[27] Tolstov, "K voprosu o monetakh Geraya," *op. cit.*, 118.

[28] Tarn, *op. cit.*, 305. This view is also held by R. Ghirshman, *Bégram, recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Cairo, 1946), 109, 185.

[29] *Ibid.*, 506.

at 144 A.D. by Ghirshman.[30] The second dynasty lasted from 144 to 242 A.D., when Shāpūr I, the Sasanian ruler, put an end to Kushan independence.[31] The arguments advanced by Ghirshman are convincing, but the lengths of rule of various Kushan potentates, whose existence is known only by their coins, still present many problems.

Herzfeld has attempted to identify the "mint" marks on some of the late Kushan gold coins. One coin has several letters in Parsik script which Herzfeld reads as Smə or Samarkand.[32] This is only a conjecture for which there is no proof. Unfortunately, the history of Transoxiana, unlike that of Iran, presents no continuity of minting down to the Umayyad period. It is also a surmise that some coins of Pērūz, brother of Shāpūr I, were minted in Samarkand from *ca.* 242 to 252 A.D.[33] Identifications of the coins of the later Kushans, both for time and place, are based primarily on artistic and technical resemblances to Parthian or Sasanian types. On this basis a brief summary of the coinage of Bactria and Transoxiana, in the second century A.D., has been made by Vasmer.[34]

The involved question of the circulation and disappearance of gold coins, and their relation to the silver issues, is beyond the scope of the present study. From Islamic sources we learn that Transoxiana was rich in both gold and silver mines.[35]

30 R. Ghirshman, "Fouilles de Bégram," *Journal Asiatique* (1943–1945), 68, and his *Bégram*, 106.

31 Ghirshman, "Fouilles," 63, 69, and his *Bégram*, 107, 163.

32 E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 38 (Calcutta, 1930), 14–15.

33 R. Vasmer, "Zur Münzkunde von Baktrien in 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 42 (1932), 52.

34 *Ibid.*

35 W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), 164, 169; V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (London, 1937), Index 522; G. Le Strange, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb* (London, 1919), 193.

These mines were probably known and exploited in antiquity, although we have no direct evidence. There is no reason to assume that the Kushans were cut off from a supply of silver, but the gold coinage of their contemporaries, the Romans, may well have exerted a strong influence on them. It is well known that gold, as a metal of coinage for Rome, came into prominence only at the end of the Republic and the early years of the Empire.[36] The prestige of Rome, and the brisk trade in the first centuries of our era, must have had some influence on other currencies. The recent discovery of a Roman trading colony on the *east* coast of India indicates the extent and importance of the Oriental trade of the Roman Empire.[37] The fact that we have no Parthian gold coins may be explained by the hostility which existed between the rulers of Iran and their eastern and western neighbors. The Kushans and Romans had a mutual enemy, and mutual interests in trade, so it is not surprising to find both minting gold while the Parthians maintained a silver standard.[38]

The merging of the late Kushan coins with the issues of the Sasanian governors of the east, the so-called Kushano-Sasanian coins, ushers in a new period. The rare Sasanian *aurei* were probably minted in Khurāsān or Transoxiana after the conquests of the new Iranian dynasty in this area.[39] At the advent of the Sasanian dynasty, *ca.* 225 A.D., Transoxiana was probably divided into a number of small principalities. The only literary sources for a history of this period are a few statements in the Chinese dynastic histories, frequently based on

[36] H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins* (London, 1928), 18, 25, 121.

[37] R. E. M. Wheeler, A. Gosh and Krishna Deva, "Arikamedu: an Indo-Roman Trading-station on the East Coast of India," *Ancient India*, no. 2 (1946), 17–124.

[38] G. Bataille, "Notes sur la numismatique des Koushans," *Aréthuse*, fascicule 18 (1928), 25.

[39] Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 1.

hearsay.[40] The numismatic picture likewise is obscure, but already in the third century A.D. coin types began to change from the Parthian-Kushan "thick" to the Sasanian "thin" type.[41]

The coins of the last Kushan dynasty, the Kidārites, are based upon Sasanian models. Our knowledge of the Kidārites is still scanty, and much rests upon uncertain evidence. It seems that the name is derived from the first ruler, Kidāra, who consolidated power north of the Hindu Kush Mountains *ca.* 350 A.D.[42] The date as well as the course of events is a matter of dispute, and the reconstruction of Marquart is the only extensive study of the problem.[43] According to him, the Kidārites ruled over most of the area east of the Caspian Sea, and the expeditions of the Sasanians against them took place in this area. The base of operations of the Persian army was Gurgān at the southeast corner of the Caspian.[44] Marquart, following Chinese sources, identified the capital of the Kidārites as the town of Balkhān in the ancient bed of the Oxus River, which once flowed to the Caspian Sea.[45] The son of Kidāra, and presumably his successor, after suffering a de-

[40] Historical sources are lacking, but later Chinese sources give us an idea of the political situation in earlier times; *cf.* E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903), 134.

[41] This does not refer to copper coins, which hardly could be made as thin as the Sasanian silver pieces. It is true that several "thick" types are attributed to the Hephtalites, although their coinage was, on the whole, similar to the Sasanian; *cf.* J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, 449–452.

[42] Ghirshman, "Fouilles," *op. cit.*, 69.

[43] J. Marquart, "Ērānšahr," *Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesell. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1901, 55–58; *cf.* also his "Kultur- und sprachgeschichtliche Analekten," *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 9 (1929), 97.

[44] *Ērānšahr*, 57, note.

[45] *Ibid.*, 55. He uses the antiquated translation of E. Specht, "Études sur l'Asie Centrale," *Journal Asiatique* (1883), 328, which is based in turn on the translations of A. Rémusat and Stanislas Julien.

feat at the hands of the Sasanian forces, led his people over the Hindu Kush Mountains to invade India. Marquart dated this event shortly after 468 A.D., in the time of Pērūz, the Sasanian monarch who secured the throne with the aid of the Hephtalites.[46] This hypothesis raises a number of problems. Similar, but with convincing variations, is the thesis of M. F. C. Martin, a numismatist, who advanced the theory that the Kidārites separated into two branches under pressure from the northern nomads, the Chionites.[47] One group migrated westward toward the Caspian, while the other branch moved south over the Hindu Kush. The leader of the second group was Kidāra himself. Martin places the date of the migration a century earlier than Marquart, *ca.* 350 A.D., which coincides with the date proposed by Ghirshman.[48] No references to Kidārite coins found in excavations in Soviet Central Asia have come to my attention. One would suppose that their rule did not extend so far north, or if it did it may have been transitory. The coins struck by the Kidārites in Afghanistan and India represent a separate problem. Likewise, the question of the relations of the Kidārites with the Chionites, and the Sasanians, involves a study of literary sources as well as of the coins.[49]

The Hephtalite invasions of the fifth century A.D. introduce a new element into the history of Transoxiana, and they present one of the most enigmatic problems of this history.

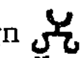
46 *Ibid.*, 58; *cf.* A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1944), 293. On the name of the son, *κούγχαν=qūn qān*, *cf.* Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen* (Leipzig, 1914), 70.

47 M. F. C. Martin, "Coins of the Kidāra and the Little Kushāns," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Numismatic Supplement no. XLVII (1938), 23–50, 5 plates.

48 *Ibid.*, 32; Ghirshman, "Fouilles," *op. cit.*, 69.

49 The Greek, Syriac, and Middle Persian sources are very confusing, and the summary of the history of this period by O. Wesendonk, "Kūšān, Chioniten und Hephthaliten," *Klio*, 26 (1933), 336–346, does little to clarify the situation.

Mention of the Hephtalites is found in Chinese, Greek, Syriac and Arabic sources, and their coins are found in most of the large Oriental collections. The term *White Huns* was used by the Greek authors to designate the Hephtalites, but it was also applied to other nomads of Central Asia, and the historical picture is consequently very confusing. Manuscript fragments, with the same script as that on the coins of the Hephtalites, have been found in Chinese Turkestan. At least three such fragments were brought from Turfan by Le Coq and preserved in Berlin until the late war.[50] This script is a very corrupt form of the Greek alphabet used by the Greco-Bactrian rulers and their successors, the Kushans. The language has remained undeciphered, although it is probably an Iranian tongue closely related to Sogdian. The name *Hephtalite*, adopted from the name of the ruling family, can be compared with a Sogdian plural * *Heβtalīt* (singular * *Heβtalak*), and the name of one of the kings, *Aχšōndār* (not *Aχšunwār*), may be compared with Sogdian *'χš'wnd'r* "king."[51]

Most of the Hephtalite coins have an identifying sign  which might have served as a coat of arms of the royal family. Whether this symbol was used by all the Hephtalites, by one tribe, or by one dynasty, is unknown. It is not found on all coins classified as "Hephtalite," but it is frequent enough for us to assume an extensive use of it over a long period of time. The historical picture, the relations of Hephtalites with conquered peoples, tributaries, and the like, is almost a *tabula rasa* in history.

Again the works of Marquart are the best guide for what little we know of these people.[52] The date of the Hephtalite

[50] A. von Le Coq, "Köktürkisches aus Turfan," *Sitzungsber. der Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1909, 1049–1061; also F. W. Thomas, "A Tokhari MS," *JAOS*, 64 (1944), 1–3, one plate.

[51] W. B. Henning, "Neue Materialen zur Geschichte des Manichaismus," *ZDMG*, 90 (1936), 17, note 2.

[52] Especially his *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), also "Über das Volks-

invasion of Transoxiana is uncertain, but it probably lasted a number of years, beginning *ca.* 400 A.D. The interrelations of the names *Hephtalites*, *Chionites*, and *Kadisäer* are obscure, but all were invaders from Central Asia. According to Marquart the last-named were a branch of the Hephtalites who ruled in the vicinity of Herat.[53] Another branch of the Hephtalites may have been the Zāvuli tribe which gave the name to the province of Zābulistān (in Islamic sources), the modern Ghazna in Afghanistan.[54] The White Huns in the Caucasus area present another problem. The ruler of the White Huns, Grumbates, who aided Shāpūr in his siege of the city of Āmida (modern Diyarbakr) held by the Romans, may have been ruler of the Caucasian branch only.[55] The Hephtalites certainly ruled over Transoxiana, for later Arabic geographers referred to the land between the two rivers as *Hayāṭilah* (Hephtalites).[56] Yet finds of Hephtalite coins there have been rare, which leads one to suspect that the Hephtalites followed a policy similar to that of the Yüeh-chih, and for a time left the local coinage alone. Although the wars of the Hephtalites with the Sasanians occurred for the most part in the sixth century A.D., the northern invaders would seem to have been in Transoxiana a century earlier.[57] Solutions to the many prob-

tum der Komanen," *Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 13 (1914), 70–75. Some of Marquart's identifications have been questioned by P. Pelliot, "A propos des Comans," *JA* (1920), 140.

[53] Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 77–78. The Armenian form of the name is Katišk'.

[54] Marquart and J. M. de Groot, "Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Žūn vom 6–9 Jahrhundert," *Festschrift Eduard Sachau* (Berlin, 1915), 252.

[55] Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, 342.

[56] G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), 433.

[57] A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1944), 289, note 5, asserts that the Hephtalites did not reach the borders of Iran until the middle of the fifth century.

lems of Hephtalite and related coins await the results of archaeological excavations in Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan.

II. The Coins of Khwārazm

In the period just before, during, and after the Muslim invasions we are on firmer ground, primarily because of the valuable Arabic sources. Two series of coins have been investigated, the Khwārazmian coins, mentioned above, and the so-called "Bukhār Khudāh" coins. According to Tolstov, in 1937 there were forty-four Khwārazmian coins in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, and 195 (including fragments) found by the first archaeological expedition to the territory of ancient Khwārazm. By 1945 the number had risen to almost a thousand.[58] A few odd pieces were to be found in collections outside Russia. Tolstov gives a detailed summary of past work on the Khwārazmian coins, which indicates that they have been known as long ago as 1850.[59] It was only in 1870 that E. Thomas published and studied five of these coins, casts of which had been sent him from St. Petersburg.[60] It is unnecessary to repeat the various suggestions of Thomas, Drouin, and Rapson on the attribution of these coins. All of the coins preserved in St. Petersburg had been found in Russia proper (province of Perm), hence speculation on their provenance was varied.[61] It is certain now that they represent the coinage of pre-Islamic Khwārazm. Legible plates of two of the coins were published by Markov in 1892.[62]

58 S. P. Tolstov, "K istorii Khorezmiiskikh Siyavushidov," *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk*, seriya istorii i filosofii, 2 (1945), 275.

59 Tolstov, "Monety shakhov Drevnego Khorezma i drevnekhorezmiiskii alfabit," *VDI* (1938), no. 4 (5), 121.

60 E. Thomas, "Indo-Parthian Coins," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1869), 503–521, reprinted in *NC* (1870), 139–163.

61 E. J. Rapson, "On the Attribution of Certain Silver Coins of Sassanian Fabric," *NC* (1896), 249.

62 A. Markov, "Neizdannyya Arsakidskiya monety," *Zapiski Vostochnago*

The articles of Thomas (note 60), of Allotte de la Fuÿe,[63] and of Tolstov, are the principal sources of information on these coins, and they alone need concern us here. Unfortunately the reproductions of the coins given by Tolstov are so poor that one is unable to use them.

Before discussing the coins, a few words on our present state of knowledge about the Khwārazmian language may be in order.[64] The details of the knowledge of the Khwārazmian language among the Muslim literati were summarized for the first time by Zeki Validi.[65] A few Khwārazmian words were known from the Muslim writers, primarily al-Bīrūnī, but all literature in the Khwārazmian language has perished without a trace. Zeki Validi found a number of manuscripts in Istanbul of juridical contents with Khwārazmian words and sentences.[66] Dr. W. B. Henning studied the material which Zeki Validi had found, and gave the first brief analysis of the Khwārazmian language.[67] This material was adapted, and somewhat expanded on the basis of additional manuscripts in Russian collections, by Freiman.[68] The language is closer to

Otdeleniya Imp. Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva, 6 (1891), 301, plate IV, nos. 32 and 33.

[63] A. de la Fuÿe, "Monnaies incertaines de la Sogdiane," *RN*, quatrième série, 29 (1926), 141–151, plate VI (VII), 14, 15, and 17.

[64] For the history of Khwārazm in ancient times *cf.* W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 293–294, 478–480, and K. Inostrantsev, "O do-musulmanskoi kulture Khivinskago Oazisa," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya* (St. Petersburg, February, 1911), 284–318.

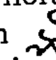
[65] A. Zeki Validi, "Über die Sprache und Kultur der Alten Chwarezmier," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 90 (1936), *27–30.

[66] *Ibid.*, *27–28, also his "Ḫwārezmische Sätze in einem arabischen *Fiqh*-Werke," *Islamica*, 3 (1927), 190–213.

[67] W. B. Henning, "Über die Sprache der Chvarezmier," *ZDMG*, 90 (1936), *30–34.

[68] A. Freiman, "Khorezmiiskii Yazyk," *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, 7 (1939), 306–319. In the same journal, pp. 79–91, S. L. Volin has an article,

Sogdian and Ossetic than to other Iranian tongues; hence parallels with these two languages must be utilized in an attempt to decipher the literary remains and the coins. It is also possible that the inscriptions on some of the silver objects found in Russia, but of Central Asian origin, are in Khwārazmian.[69] Since the literary Khwārazmian remains are written in Arabic characters the only paleographical materials we have are the coins, the silver bowls, etc. mentioned above, and the remains in the old Sogdian alphabet for comparison.[70]

To pass on to the coins themselves, Tolstov has classified the coins into two main groups, one with debased Greek and Khwārazmian legends, and the other with Khwārazmian only.[71] Each group is further subdivided into three sections. The first section is composed of coins which are not found, to my knowledge, in any collection outside of Russia.[72] Section, or type, A is composed of tetradrachmae with the figure of a bearded ruler facing right. On the reverse is a horseman in the Parthian style, with the Khwārazmian sign , which is found on coins of the other types as well. The sign is related to the mark on the Kushan coins, especially of Huvishka, also on the coins of Heraya.[73] Above the sign is a debased Greek

"Novyi istochnik dlya izucheniya Khorezmiiskogo yazyka," similar to, but more expanded than, the article of Zeki Validi.

69 Ya. I. Smirnov, *Vostochnoye Serebro* (St. Petersburg, 1909), Plate XIX, CXIV and others.

70 The ancient (non-Buddhist) Sogdian script is represented in the ancient letters found by Sir Aurel Stein in Tun-huang, pub. by Hans Reichelt, *Die Sogdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, 2 Teil (Heidelberg, 1931), and a few fragments of inscriptions; *cf.* A. Freiman, "Drevneishaya Sogdiiskaya Nadpis," *VDI* (1939), part 3, 135–136.

71 Tolstov, "Monety shakhov Drevnego Khorezma," *op. cit.*, 125.

72 The reproductions which Tolstov gives on p. 126 are poor. One of these coins was reproduced by E. Thomas, "Parthian and Indo-Sassanian Coins," *JRAS* (1883), 81.

73 Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 124, 128.

inscription, and at the bottom a Khwārazmian legend. The Greek is said to be a debased form of the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ(Σ), but the photographs are too poor for checking.[74] The second section of the first group, A, is composed of small, thick copper coins poorly preserved. The third group, *α*, copper coins, is distinguished by a sign in the form of a cross. Nowhere, to my knowledge, except in Tolstov's article, are the coins of the last two types represented.[75] Their relation to the silver issues, or to each other, is a matter of speculation. Tolstov suggests that coins of type *α* might be the coins of lower Khwārazm (perhaps due to their provenance?).[76]

The second class of coins is later in date, and more of these were found than of the first group. Both silver drachmae and copper coins are found, all with Khwārazmian legends. They are classified by Tolstov by the type of headdress, and by the position of the legends. A subgroup, B 1, has an Arabic word فضل just behind the rider on the reverse. On the coins of the British Museum and The American Numismatic Society (FRONTISPIECE, figs. 3 and 4) it is clearly الفضل. Tolstov claims that this dates the coins from the time of the governor of Khurāsān, al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, 793–795.[77] Another group of coins *β* are of a crude copper type with a large sign Ψ on the reverse, and a crude portrait of a ruler on the obverse (Plate III, p. 132 of Tolstov's article).

It is not possible here to discuss the various readings proposed by Tolstov. He has a large quantity of coins of all types which cannot be checked, and one must rely on his transcriptions. The first legend which Tolstov studied was a cursive legend on the latest Khwārazmian coins with the Arabic word on the reverse. The cursive Khwārazmian legend on the

[74] *Ibid.*, 127.

[75] One of the class *α* coins of Tolstov's classification was reproduced in W. Tiesenhausen, *Notice sur une collection de monnaies orientales de M. le Comte S. Stroganoff* (St. Petersburg, 1880), 8, no. 16.

[76] Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 129. [77] *Ibid.*, 131.

obverse side, to the right of the ruler's face, is, unfortunately, different from the cursive legend on the back of a similar coin from the British Museum (FRONT., fig. 3). Tolstov reads the legend  *š'wšpr*, which is the ruler mentioned by al-Bīrūnī as شاوشفر and in the Chinese sources as *shao shih-fên* 稍施芬.[78] Several remarks may be made. First, the form of the name as it appears in the text of al-Bīrūnī is open to question. There are a number of manuscripts of al-Bīrūnī's work which were not available to Sachau, one of the most important of which is in the 'Umūmī library in Istanbul. (*Cf.* C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, erster Supplementband (Leiden, 1937), 872.) These manuscripts should be consulted. It is difficult to believe that even then the original form of the name can be determined, since the Khwārazmian language is so little known. Second, the Chinese name was pronounced *ṣau śię p'i̯uən* in ancient times (Karlgren's reconstruction). The final syllable would be somewhat difficult to reconcile with the Iranian form of the name. Furthermore, without legible reproductions it is impossible to check Tolstov's reading. His reading of the first four letters of the obverse as *qrṣd*, whom he identifies as the brother of the Khwārazmshah in the time of Qutaiba, is hardly acceptable. The Khwārazmian coins which we have at our disposal all belong to the same class. Tolstov suggests that the cursive Khwārazmian legend on the obverse, which he copies , is the name of the predecessor of the *Šāūšafar*, in the work of al-Bīrūnī—ترکسبثه or *'Abdallāh*. This is mere surmise and a continuation of Tolstov's method of seeking to make the coin legends fit the names of Khwārazmian rulers given by al-Bīrūnī. Tolstov must have used a manuscript in the Soviet

[78] *Ibid.*, 134–135. E. Chavannes in his "Notes additionelles sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux," *T'oung Pao*, 5 (1904), 92, quotes a passage from the *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei*, 册府元龜, vol. 971, which tells of tributary envoys from three states, including Khwārazm, of which the ruler's name is given as Shao-fên. Chavannes has identified this ruler with the Shāūšafar of al-Bīrūnī.

Union for this form of the name. Sachau (p. 36) has the form تركسباثه with a variant تركستانه. All forms are to be regarded with suspicion. I am unable to propose a reading for the cursive legend on these coins (Front., figs. 2, 3, 4), which on no. 2 looks more like [illegible]. On the reverse, around the figure of the horseman is a legend [illegible] which Tolstov read as *MR' MLK'*, two Aramaic ideograms for "lord" and "shah" (Front., fig. 1, rev.).[79] The former (*MR'Y*) occurs frequently in the Sogdian fragments from Mug Mountain.[80] There is a precedent in Sogdian for two titles used together, in much the same fashion as our "Mister President," and that is the *βγω γωβω* of the fragments from Mug Mountain. Perhaps the Khwārazmian titles are used in the same manner, but it might be that the first three letters represent the name of the kingdom, or place of mintage, as in the coins of Bukhara (*cf.* below). The princes of the small Central Asian states had different titles.[81] At first I thought of the possibility of Merv, O. P. *Marguš*, but even on historical grounds this was unacceptable, since it was a province of the Sasanian empire governed by a *marzpān*. The ruler of Khwārazm, on the other hand, did hold the title of Shāh according to the letter of Tansar, high priest of Iran in the time of Ardašīr I.[82] It is not certain that the first letter is the same as the fourth, an *m*. The reading *MLK'*, however, is convincing. The final word of the legend was read as *χwrzm* or Khwārazm by Tolstov.[83] The first two letters were compared with the Book Pahlevi ligature, while the rest were read as ancient Sogdian. This

[79] Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 133.

[80] A. Freiman, *Sogdiiskii Sbornik* (Leningrad, 1934), 45 *et passim.*

[81] *E.g.*, the *Tirmidh Shāh*, the *Afshīn* of *Usrūshana*, the *Shār* of *Gharchistān*, etc. *Cf.* Christensen, *op. cit.*, 501.

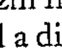
[82] Ibn Isfandiyār, *Ta'rīkh-i-Ṭabaristān*, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl (Teheran, 1942), 18.

[83] Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 137.

ignores the fact that in all Iranian languages the name of the country has a long *ā* in the first syllable, which should also be represented in Khwārazmian.[84] I can propose no alternate reading, and it would seem that more knowledge of the language is necessary before further work on the coins be attempted.

In regard to the small characters on the reverse of one of the coins, just behind the rider (FRONT., fig. 2, rev.), in a letter dated 23 October 1947, John Walker, of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, wrote, "The letters which Gen. Cunningham read as IX='Ιησοῦς Χριστός, are really part of an Arabic legend upside down, which I can read as: الابرد, *i.e. al-Abrad* (?), or some such name."

On the other coins Tolstov read *'bdwl MLK'*, "Abdallāh Shāh," *Afrīgh* (the name of the ruling dynasty, according to al-Bīrūnī), and *šywš*, the شاوش of al-Bīrūnī.[85] On the basis of the alphabet on the coins, several silver bowls in the Hermitage museum are identified as Khwārazmian. The inscriptions on them are crude, and at least one is in Sogdian.[86] Much work remains to be done in this field, but Tolstov has opened the way, and others will carry the task further.

Tolstov reached a number of general conclusions based upon his study of the coins. First, one dynasty, the Afrighids, ruled in Khwārazm from the third to the eighth century A.D. Second, they had a distinctive sign , which they placed on the coins, and which was related to the Kushan mark. This would substantiate the Chinese sources, which imply a Kushan confederacy in ancient times.[87] So the ruling dynasty in

[84] From Henning's account, *op. cit.*, *ZDMG*, 1936, *30, the Khwārazmian language, written in Arabic script, sometimes has long vowels where short ones should be represented, but not *vice versa.*

[85] Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 136–137.

[86] Ya. I. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, Plate XLI, no. 71. Deciphered by W.B. Henni

[87] E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903), 134.

Khwārazm was of Kushan origin. Third, close cultural contact with Bactria is indicated by finds of silver vessels and objects common to both, as well as by finds of Greco-Bactrian coins in the territory of ancient Khwārazm. The trade which Khwārazm maintained with Eastern Europe in Islamic times also existed in the pre-Islamic period, as Khwārazmian coins found in Russia proper show. Finally, the preservation of the ancient type of Khwārazmian coins into later times indicates that Khwārazm was long independent, and the cultural tradition was preserved with little outside influence except from Iran.[88]

A new, unique coin was found in the excavations of Toprak-kala in Khwārazm in 1940.[89] It was well preserved, with a debased Greek inscription on the reverse around the figure of a horseman in the Parthian style.[90] This was the oldest "Khwārazmian" coin yet found, according to Tolstov. On the basis of the horseman pictured on the reverse, Tolstov proposed a chronological relationship of the later Khwārazmian coins with the issues of the Greco-Bactrian king Eucratides, as follows: Eucratides—the coin from Toprak-kala—the coins of Heraya—the two Khwārazmian types.[91] On the basis of stylistic resemblance to Parthian coins, the unique find from Toprak-kala was dated in the first century B.C. This provides a long series of Khwārazmian coins, according to Tolstov, although many problems of dating and deciphering still remain.

[88] Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 145. Islamic coins were minted early in Khwārazm. We have a *fals* struck in Khwārazm in 224/838; W. Tiesenhausen, "Novoye sobranie vostochnykh monet A. V. Komarova," *ZVOIRAO*, 3 (1888), 56, plate II, no. 3.

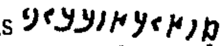
[89] Tolstov, "K istorii Khorezmiiskikh Siyavushidov," *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk*, seriya istorii i filosofii (1945), 275.

[90] See the plate on p. 280 of Tolstov's article.

[91] *Ibid.*, 278.

III. The Coins of Bukhara

Coins of a class which has attracted more attention than the Khwārazmian issues were first reproduced by C. M. Fraehn in 1832, without comment.[92] Cunningham also reproduced them with a brief note eight years later.[93] The first attempt to study these coins was made by E. Thomas, who suggested that they might have come from the western part of Central Asia, and been modeled after a Sasanian prototype.[94] The practice of each Sasanian ruler of adopting a special type of headdress to be used on his portraits and coins made the identification of the prototype easy. The prototype was the portrait of Varahrān V (420–438 A.D.). Thomas, however, thought that the model was taken from the coin type of the rebel Varahrān Chūbīn, *ca.* 578, who in turn had copied the coinage of his predecessor of the same name.[95] No one was able to assign these coins to a definite time or area of circulation, until a Russian orientalist, P. Lerch, determined their provenance and showed that they were the issues of the rulers of Bukhara.

The legend on the coins  was read as *Bukhār Khuddāt* by Lerch.[96] The second word, however, was unsatisfactory, for it corresponded to no known word in any

[92] C. M. Fraehn, *Die Münzen der Chane vom Ulus Dschutschi's* (St. Petersburg, 1832), plate XVI, figs. א and ב.

[93] A. Cunningham, "Notes on Captain Hay's Bactrian Coins," *JRASB* (1840), plate 3, nos. 6 and 7, facing p. 538.

[94] In J. Prinsep, *Essays on Indian Antiquities* (London, 1858), II, 116–117.

[95] E. Thomas, "Bilingual Coins of Bukhara," *NC*, third series, vol. I (1881), 118.

[96] First in P. Lerch, "Sur les monnaies des Boukhâr-Khoudahs ou princes de Boukhara avant la conquête du Maverennahr par les Arabes," *Travaux de la troisième session du Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 2 (St. Petersburg, 1879), 417–429; *cf.* also his *Monety Bukhar-Khudatov* in the series Trudy Vostochnago Otd. Russ. Arkh. O-va., 18 (1876).

Iranian tongue, nor could it be explained as the combination of two words meaning "God-given," or "self-given." No new plausible interpretation of the second word was proposed until Allotte de la Fuÿe, on the basis of some additional specimens with slightly different legends, suggested the reading *Khūd Kānā*.[97] This was assumed because *Kānā* is the name of the ruler mentioned by Narshakhī as the first person who coined money in Bukhara (see addenda). The veracity of Narshakhī's account was doubted by Barthold, and it is difficult to believe that the story was not transformed in some degree, if not invented.[98] It is true that we have no historical references to a ruler called *Kānā*, but since the name does occur in Sogdian it is not to be dismissed as pure fiction.[99]

In a review of J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London, 1941) in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (1943), 209, M. Sprengling suggested that the final *t* of the word *Khuddāt* was the Sogdian plural ending *-t*. In Sogdian, however, the word is *γωt'ω*, and Henning's reading (below) eliminates this conjecture.

Since the time of Lerch many of these coins have been found, especially by the Soviet archaeological expeditions in Central Asia. The coins may be divided tentatively into three groups: those with only a "Bukharan" legend, the second group with bilingual legends, and finally those with Arabic alone. It seems fairly well established that the coins with

97 A. de la Fuÿe, "Imitations de la drachme de Varahran V, frappées à Merv," *NC*, 7 (1927), 175–180. *Cf.* the discussion in J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London, 1941), lxxxviii, and A. de la Fuÿe, "Monnaies incertaines de la Sogdiane II," *RN*, 29 (1926), 150. He says these coins are imitations of the issues of Bahrām Gōr (Varahrān V), struck at Merv after his victory over the Hephtalites *ca.* 428 A.D.

98 W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), 204.

99 The name occurs as *k'n'kk* in H. Reichelt, *Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste*, *op. cit.*, 49.

bilingual legends existed as late as the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–193/786–809).[100] The "Bukharan" or Sogdian legend remains the same on almost all of the coins till the final disappearance of this formula on the third class.

The legend on these coins presented a problem, and with no pretence to a knowledge of Sogdian epigraphy, I requested the aid of my former teacher, Dr. W. B. Henning of the London School of Oriental and African Studies. In a letter dated 19 July 1947 the following communication was received, which, I believe, solves the problem of the legend on the 'Bukhār Khudāh" coins:

> The coins of the "Bukhār-Khudāhs," last studied by John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London, 1941), pp. lxxx foll. and plates xxviii–xxix, bear inscriptions in the Sogdian script and language The writing resembles closely that familiar from the Sogdian "Ancient Letters"; *cf.* H. Reichelt, *Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, 2 (Heidelberg, 1931), which, as I hope to show elsewhere,* date in all probabitlity from at least the second decennium of the fourth century A.D. The numismatists who have occupied themselves with these coins in recent times have failed to recognize the true character of the writing; in consequence they have imported into their readings *e.g.* a letter *d* (supposedly resembling *r*), thereby producing or admitting such legends as *Bukhār-Khuddāt* or *Bukhār Khud Kānā*, although such a letter does not exist in Sogdian.
>
> How closely the legends follow the rules of Sogdian orthography is shown even by their first letter, the *p*† of

100 Walker, *op. cit.*, xc–xcvii, also A. de la Fuÿe, in *NC*, 7 (1927), 162–174.

* [W. B. Henning, "The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," *BSOAS*, 12 (1948), 605–615—. R. N. F.]

† That it is *p* cannot seriously be doubted.

pwγ'r= Bukhara; for the three sounds *β*, *p*, and *b* of the Sogdian language the Sogdian script had only the two letters *β* and *p*, the latter of which was used for both *p* and *b* (similarly the letter *t* had to serve for both *t* and *d*). The eighth and ninth letters of the legends are distinct (in most specimens) from the fifth (*r*) by a longer and more curved downward stroke to the left (see *e.g.*, FRONT., figs. 5–9, and Walker Pl. xxviii b 2, b 5, b 8; xxix 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10); they can therefore be read only as *β* or *k* (for the eighth, *β* is more likely by far). The eleventh letter, in some of the oldest specimens, has the shape ϟ which is precisely that of the Sogdian letter *y* in the "Ancient Letters" (so clearly Walker Pl. xxviii b2 and b5); later on it is like 7* (Walker Pl. xxix 1 and 7) sometimes split into two parts (ʼ) or ʼ) *ibidem* 2, 3, 4, 8, 10 and FRONT., figs. 7–9), sometimes compressed into a simple vertical ( ) or / , *ibidem* xxviii b 8, xxix 5, 6, 9, and FRONT., fig. 5). The split form of this letter has led Allotte de la Fuÿe (and before him, as we shall see, the medieval historians of Bukhara) to the assumption that the legend consisted of twelve letters (the two last being *n'*), an assumption which cannot be maintained in view of the clear form of the letter in the oldest specimens.

There are thus only two possible readings of the legend,

either *pwγ'rγwβk'y*
or *pwγ'rγwββ'y*,

the former being preferable. The legend consists of three words, *pwγ'r*, *γwβ*, and *k'y*: this is assured by the Bukhara coin with a different legend (Walker p. lxxxix) in which a word (of doubtful reading, perhaps *mz'yγ* "great"?) intervenes between *pwγ'r* and *γwβ* and in which *γwβ* is apparently not followed by *k'y*. The first word, *pwγ'r*, has long been recognized as the name of Bu-

* Corresponding to final *-y* in the later Sogdian cursive script.

khara. The second, *γwβ*, is obviously the common Sogdian word for "king," which is mostly spelt *γwβw* but occurs also as *γwβ* (see P 6, 58 . . . *'rδ'yp'k-γwβ*= . . . *prabhā-rāja*).*

The last word, *k'y*, is a little more difficult. As in view of the long run of the legend (probably from Sasanian times to the end of the eighth century A.D.) it cannot well be the name of a king, it seems likely that it is an additional title. No such title is found in Sogdian. However, I see no objection to the assumption that the kings of Bukhara borrowed, in Sasanian times, the grandiloquent Persian title *Kai*, which in Sogdian could not be spelt otherwise than as *k'y*. In Pahlavi script *Kai* is spelt *Kdy*,† *cf.* *Rdy* for *Rai*, *Pwsdy* for *Pūsai*, etc. We find *Kai* on the coins of several Sasanian kings as their title or one of their titles. Thus on nearly all coins issued by Yezdegerd II and Pērōz (together A.D. 439–84). Although *Kdy* occurs both before (earliest under Šāpūr III, *cf.* A. D. Mordtmann, "Die Münzen der Sassaniden," *ZDMG*, 24 (1880), 72, No. 304) and after those two kings, it is characteristic of the Sasanian coinage of the fifth century only. If we add to this the fact that the coin imitated by the rulers of Bukhara is one struck by Bahrām Gōr, the predecessor of Yezdegerd II, we are driven to the conclusion that the Bukhara coins were first issued in the 5th century. This view is further supported by the palaeographic evidence which leaves no doubt that the date of the first coins was not far removed from the date of the Sogdian "Ancient Letters."

The meaning of the legend *Pwγ'r γwβ k'y* (which

* E. Benveniste, *Textes Sogdiens* (Paris, 1940), 85.

† *Cf.* E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 1, p. 77 foll. H. H. Schaeder, "Beiträge zur Iranischen Sprachgeschichte," *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 15 (1936), 571; again misunderstood by J. M. Unvala, *Coins of Ṭabaristān* (Paris, 1938), 26, note.

should be pronounced as *Buχār χuβ kai*) is therefore "King-Emperor of Bukhara." The title was presumably adopted by the rulers of Bukhara under Hephthalite dominion, in emulation of the kings of Persia whose coinage they borrowed at the same time. What, however, Narshakhī says about *Kānā the Bukhār-Khudāh*, who was the first in Bukhara to strike coins at the time of Abū Bakr, is not genuine tradition but merely *derived from an early misreading of the coin legend*. In the tenth century A.D. when Sogdian script could still be read in Bukhara, but the true reading *K'y* had long been forgotten, specimens of the coin in which the last letter was split into two sections were misread as *pwγ'r γwβ k'n'* by an early numismatist, and this was interpreted to mean "King of Bukhara (translated* as *Bukhār-Khudāh*) Kānā." Possibly this misunderstanding was helped along by the fact that a family name *Kana(k)* happened to exist in Sogdiana, or at least in Samarkand (see Reichelt, *loc. cit.*, p. 12, *k'n'kk*).

The bilingual Bukharan coins have been discussed in detail by Walker.[101] The coins with all-Arabic legends have been known for a long time.[102] They represent the final product in the development of the Bukharan series. They have been assigned to the time of the Caliph Amīn (193–198/808–813), although the legends are illegible.[103]

Islamic authors mention three types of alloy dirhems in

* The translated title, which was substituted for the Sogdian title, was probably in official use in Bukhara in the eighth century A.D., when the Sogdian language had been largely replaced in that district by Eastern Persian.

101 Walker, *op. cit.*, xc.

102 First reproduced by C. M. Fraehn, *Novae Symbolae ad Rem Numariam Muhammedanorum* (St. Petersburg, 1819), section 2, plate 2, no. 14. On p. 46 he discusses the coin and believes it was minted by the Khazars.

103 Walker, *op. cit.*, xciv.

circulation in Transoxiana, the *Ghiṭrīfī*, *Muḥammadī*, and the *Musaiyabī*. Walker and others have identified these dirhems with the Bukharan dirhems which have Arabic letters as well as the Sogdian legend. The literary accounts say that they had a figure engraved on them and illegible characters, but it is nowhere stated that all had the same figure or the same legend.[104] Ibn Ḥauqal, however, said that the people of Samarkand had dirhems called *Muḥammadī*, which belong to the coinage of *Bukhara* (*wa la hum min nuqūd Bukhārā*).[105] They are also described as alloys, which is corroborated by the account of Narshakhī regarding the Ghiṭrīfī dirhems (see below). On the other hand, the area of circulation of these dirhems presents some difficulty. According to Ibn Khurdādhbih, in speaking of the taxes, Ferghāna, Sughd and other areas paid in Muḥammadī dirhems, Shāsh, Ushrūsana and others paid in Musaiyabīs, while Bukhara alone paid in Ghiṭrīfīs.[106] If all three coins are the same type, then one can say that Bukharan coins circulated throughout Transoxiana. The difference in the coins seems to have been the Arabic name stamped on them, but no coins with the name *Ghiṭrīf* or *Musaiyab* have been found. Walker misunderstood Barthold when he criticized the latter's statement that "the words of Narshakhī and Sam'ānī . . . do not allow of any doubt that the names of the three viceroys were engraved on coins."[107] The words of these two authors are explicit on this point; whether they told the truth or not is another matter. Ibn Ḥauqal says that there were only three mint towns in Transoxiana: Bukhara, Samar-

104 H. Sauvaire, "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes," *Journal Asiatique*, septième série, 18 (1881), 505–506; 19 (1882), 38.

105 Ibn Ḥauḳal, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. J. H. Kramers, *BGA* 2, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1939), 500, line 4.

106 M. J. de Goeje, ed., *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* of Ibn Khurdādhbih, *BGA* 6 (Leiden, 1889), 27–28 (French trans.).

107 Walker, *op. cit.*, xciii.

kand and Ilāq (al-Shāsh).[108] I should like to suggest, with no proof, but as a mere surmise, that the Ghiṭrīfī dirhems were minted at Bukhara, the Muḥammadī dirhems at Samarkand (with the same portrait as the Ghiṭrīfī), and the Musaiyabī dirhems at Shāsh. I do not venture to surmise whether the last were the same style, and with the same portrait, as the other two. The names in Arabic, which are found on various examples of this coinage, serve to complicate rather than simplify the problem of identification. Walker has dealt extensively with this, and it need not concern us here.[109]

An interesting feature is the simultaneous use of alloyed dirhems of the old type with a portrait, and the new Islamic coinage of the 'Abbāsids. 'Abbāsid dirhems were struck in Bukhara in 148/765, 151, etc., in Samarkand as early as 143/760.[110] So it would seem that the "pre-Islamic" type of coins was minted in Bukhara (and Samarkand?) at the same time (and place?) as 'Abbāsid dirhems. The latter must be what Narshakhī means when he speaks of "pure silver" dirhems which came to equal six Ghiṭrīfī dirhems. It is probable that there were these two types of coins in circulation in Transoxiana. The 'Abbāsid dirhems may have served for trading purposes with the central provinces of the Caliphate, while the "pre-Islamic" type of dirhems were certainly for local circulation.

IV. Sogdian Coins

This by no means completes the survey of pre-Islamic coins of Transoxiana. The various specimens noted by Allotte de la Fuÿe and summarized by de Morgan present problems which might be solved after a general classification of all the coins of

108 Ibn Ḥauḳal, *op. cit.*, 510, line 6.

109 Walker, *op. cit.*, xc–xcvii.

110 A. Markov, *Inventarnyi Katalog Musulmanskikh Monet Imperatorskago Ermitazha* (St. Petersburg, 1896), 16–17.

northern India, Afghanistan and Khurāsān, as well as Transoxiana, has been made. There is too little information on the provenance of many of the coins to assign them to any area or period of time without a decipherment of the legends.

Mention must be made of several hoards of coins found in Transoxiana, which have been designated as "Sogdian" coins.[111] There are two classes, one called Sogdian coins of Sasanian type, not investigated,[112] and Sogdian coins of Chinese type, which have been studied.[113] These latter coins have square holes in the center, and have legends in the Sogdian cursive (Buddhist) script. One coin has been read *trγωn MLK'*, "Tarkhūn king," the ruler of Samarkand *ca.* 700–710 A.D. Another coin has the legend *'ω-rk MLK'*, which has been read by Freiman as *'ωγrk*, "Ghūrak, king," a ruler of Sogdiana *ca.* 710–737.[114] A third coin in the Hermitage has been read as *Bγsωm'n MLK'*, who is identified with a king of Samarkand mentioned by the *T'ang shu ca.* 650–655 A.D. 拂呼縵 Fu-hu-man, *p'i̯uət-χuo-muân* (acc. to B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica* (Stockholm, 1940), 500 h, 55 h, and 266 k resp.), which name Chavannes identifies with N. Persian *Bahman*, MP (book) *Vahuman*,[115] Avestan *vohu. manah*, one of the

111 These coins were found in the excavations of Tali Barzu (*cf.* G. V. Grigor'ev, "Poseleniya drevnego Sogda," *Kratkie Soobshcheniya*, 6 (Moscow, 1940), 31), and of Baikand (*cf.* A. Yu. Yakobovskii, "Zarafshanskaya arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya 1939 g," *Kratkie Soobshcheniya*, 4 (1940), 50).

112 Yakubovskii, "Zarafshanskaya ekspeditsiya 1939 g," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2 (1940), 63.

113 O. I. Smirnov, "O trekh Sogdiiskikh monetakh," *VDI* (1939), no. 1, 116–120.

114 For further information on Ṭarkhūn and Ghūrak, *cf.* V. A. and I. I. Krachkovskii, "Drevneishii arabskii dokument iz Srednei Azii," *Sogdiiskii Sbornik* (Leningrad, 1934), 53–54, 61–66; also A. Freiman, "Datirovannye Sogdiiskie dokumenty s gory Mug v Tadzhikistane," *Doklady Gruppy Vostokovedov, Trudy Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, 17 (1936), 163.

115 E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903), 135.

Ameša Spenta. The ending of the first Chinese character *p'i̯uət*, however, causes some difficulty. In T'ang times and even later this character would have been employed to transliterate a syllable ending in *-r*, so the syllable originally might have been something like *-bor* or *-var*. It would be most unusual if the consonantal ending had disappeared at this time in Chinese. It could possibly have transcribed some guttural *à la rigueur*. Great care must be taken in the reconstruction of the sounds of syllables from Chinese characters, and the supposition that *Vahuman* is the name which the Chinese characters reproduce is open to doubts. It is also difficult to understand the Sogdian form given by Freiman, and the reproduction of the coin is so poor one cannot check the reading.

Whether these coins are the same type as those described, but not reproduced, by Drouin, is unknown.[116] Several series are mentioned by him, including one with Chinese characters as well as "Sogdian." It is more probable, however, that these coins of Drouin belong to the Turgeš, a west Turkish confederation or empire which flourished in the first decades of the eighth century of our era with its center in the Lake Issyk Kul region.[117] These last-named coins are of Chinese type with square holes in the center. Many were preserved in the Hermitage Museum and others were found in excavations in Taraz (Talās) and elsewhere.[118] These coins have been interpreted and divided into six classes by Bernshtam, and dated *ca.* 704–766 A.D.[119] Some of the coins were minted at the town of Balāsāghūn, which was located near Lake Issyk Kul.

[116] E. Drouin, "Monnaies Turco-Chinoises," *RN* (1891), 456–457.

[117] W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), 187.

[118] A. N. Bernshtam, "Tyurgeshskie Monety," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2 (Moscow, 1940), 105.

[119] *Op. cit.*, 105–111.

V. Islamic Coinage

The pre-Islamic type of coinage in Transoxiana overlaps in time the Islamic coinage, which was first introduced by the currency reform of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik *ca.* 76 A.H./695 A.D. The first reformed coin found in Rayy, Iran, dates from 81 A.H.,[120] while one coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, minted at Merv, is from the year 76.[121] We have no evidence that the new coinage became current in Transoxiana at the time of the reform. If the reformed coins had circulated along with the pre-Islamic coins anywhere in Transoxiana, then the mint at Merv probably would have supplied all needs in the lands across the river.

The Umayyads never controlled the lands beyond the river. Using Merv as a base of operations they sent armies and raiding expeditions into Transoxiana. Prisoners and booty were secured, tribute imposed and converts made, but the land was not firmly held. Merv was the seat of the governor of Khurāsān and a mint city from pre-Islamic times. It has been mentioned (note 108) that there were only three mint towns in Transoxiana (in pre-Sāmānid times). It is improbable that Bukhara and Samarkand were mint towns for Umayyad reformed currency, while al-Shāsh, in Ilāq Province on the frontier of Islamic territory, could hardly have been one. The lack of a continuous tradition of minting makes the study of coinage here more difficult than in other parts of the Caliphate.

The 'Abbāsid revolt must have accelerated the process of Islamization in Transoxiana, for 'Abbāsid power was soon more strongly entrenched here than the Umayyad had ever been. Still Transoxiana was a breeding ground of revolts and

[120] G. C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy*, Numismatic Studies no. 2 (New York, 1938), 8.

[121] H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Khalifes Orientaux* (Paris, 1887), 68, no. 203.

conspiracies against the central government, both political and religious. The 'Abbāsid general Abū Muslim struck coins in the mint towns of Iran, and the British Museum has two copper coins struck in Bukhara in 132/749–750, but lacking his name.[122] In any case they are the same kind as the later 'Abbāsid copper issues. They are from the time when the partisans of Abū Muslim controlled the city, but were they the first coins of Islamic type coined in Bukhara? According to Narshakhī, coins were not minted in Bukhara before the time of Abū Bakr (632–634 A.D.), but this statement cannot be verified, and it probably refers to the coins of pre-Islamic type.

Shortly after the founding of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, Islamic coins appear from the mints of Transoxiana in abundance. A Kufic coin of Muḥammad al-Mahdī, struck at Bukhara in 143/760, is one of the earliest 'Abbāsid coins from this mint.[123] At this time (from 141 A.H.) al-Mahdī was an honorary governor of Khurāsān under his father al-Manṣūr, later almost co-regent. The minting of 'Abbāsid dirhems probably started a little later in Samarkand, although Markov mentions coins as early as 143 and 144/760–761 struck in Samarkand.[124] The third mint town of Transoxiana, al-Shāsh, was almost certainly later in the minting of 'Abbāsid coins than the other two. A copper *fals* is reported from here, dated 166/782–3, but it is uncertain.[125] The reading Akhsīkath, capital of Ferghāna province, on a copper *fals* of the year

[122] S. L. Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, I (London, 1875), 191, nos. 79 and 80.

[123] E. J. Thomas, "On Some Bilingual Coins of Bokhara," *Indian Antiquary*, 8 (1879), 273. This coin is found in Fraehn's *Recensio*, p. 21, no. 22. The coin of Manṣūr 138/755 reported by W. Tiesenhausen, *Monety Vostochnago Khalifata* (St. Petersburg, 1873), 68, is doubtful.

[124] A. Markov, *Inventarnyi katalog musulmanskikh monet Imperatorskago Ermitazha* (St. Petersburg, 1896), 16, nos. 51 and 56.

[125] Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, 110, footnote to no. 1008.

144, is most suspicious and, as far as I know, unique.[126] Al-Shāsh, near modern Tashkent, was a province rich in silver mines and of importance in the trade with the nomads on the frontiers of Islamic territory. Hence, the issuance of 'Abbāsid coins here is not surprising.[127] Since the Musaiyabī dirhems were especially circulated among the Turks in the steppes, might not al-Shāsh have been the mint of these dirhems?[128] We find dirhems struck at al-Shāsh and at Ma'din al-Shāsh in 190/805–6, but earlier dates are possible.[129]

A problem arises, for we find two names on coins of the 'Abbāsid period, *al-Shāsh*, and *Ma'din al-Shāsh*, "the mine of Shāsh." There is no reason, however, why there could not have been a mint at the settlement near the mines as well as in the capital city of the province. It is somewhat unusual but perhaps the most plausible explanation.[130]

'Abbāsid coins continued to be minted in Transoxiana until the advent of the Sāmānids. Before the rise of this dynasty, which was independent of caliphal authority, the family of the Ṭāhirids, governors of Khurāsān, had established an almost independent regime, and coins were issued in their name. Two years after the date when Ṭalḥa ibn Ṭāhir was confirmed in the governorship of Khurāsān we find a coin

[126] *Ibid.* 73, no. 732.

[127] G. Le Strange, trans., *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb* of Qazwīnī (London, 1919), 193.

[128] A. Zeki-Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Leipzig, 1939), 112–113.

[129] Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, 165. The earliest coin in the British Museum from Shāsh, acc. to S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 9 (additions to vol. 1), 59, is the year 218 A.H.

[130] This may have been the name of a town *kūh-i-sīm* in Persian; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 172. On this question *cf.* W. Tiesenhausen, "O Samanidskikh Monetakh," *Zapiski Imperatorskago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva*, 6 (1853), 35.

minted in his name in Bukhara, 209/824.[131] A coin of Ṭalḥa from Samarkand dated the following year indicates that both mints started coining his currency at the same time.[132] This coinage can be designated as 'Abbāsid coinage, which continued until the advent of the Sāmānids. Since the Ṣaffārids did not rule the territory on the northern side of the Oxus River, except for temporary nominal control in limited areas, they did not issue any coins in the mints of Transoxiana.[133]

Under the Sāmānids new mints appear. In addition to the old mints, we find Akhsīkath in the province of Ferghāna, Tūnkath, capital of Ilāq province and Ushrūsana, the province to the northeast of Samarkand. Why were new mints opened? Several reasons may be advanced in explanation. Under the Sāmānids Transoxiana flourished as never before, and prosperity was a concomitant of internal security. At the same time, as we see from Narshakhī and other Islamic authors, the amount of money in circulation increased, taxes rose, and consequently the need for more money grew. Trade with the people of the steppes flourished, as the large hoards of Sāmānid coins found in northern and eastern Europe indicate.[134] Furthermore, the frontier of Islam was extended farther into the lands of the infidels under the Sāmānids. With this advance the territory which had once been the frontier now became the safe hinterland. The exploitation of the silver mines of Ferghāna and Ilāq provinces was the result.

Al-Shāsh was already an important mint under the Ṭāhirids. We find coins minted there in the name of 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir in 220/835 and 229/843, and it continued into Sā-

[131] S. Lane Poole, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 73, no. 241.

[132] *Ibid.*, 9 (additions), p. 176, no. 239 m.

[133] *Cf.* R. Vasmer, "Über die Münzen der Ṣaffāriden und ihrer Gegner in Fārs und Ḫurāsān," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 23 (Vienna, 1930), 131–162.

[134] R. P. Blake, "The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East Down to the Mongol Epoch," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2 (1937), 295.

mānid times.[135] From Ma'din al-Shāsh one coin is dated as early as 190/805.[136] The earliest dated coins in Fraehn's *Recensio*, from the mints of Transoxiana, are: Tūnkath, 302/914 (p. 73, no. *154), Binkath, 306/918 (p. 79, no. *186), Akhsīkath, 304/916 (p. 76, no. *171), Ferghāna, 304/916 (p. 566, no. *171 a), Tirmidh, 293/905 (p. 51, no. *53). The rise to power of the Sāmānid dynasty occurred at this time. It is possible that Akhsīkath and Ferghāna represent one mint, for the former was the chief city in the province of Ferghāna. Likewise, Binkath was the largest city in Shāsh province, and was itself called al-Shāsh.[137] Tūnkath was the center of Ilāq province, but its exact location is uncertain. All of these names are Sogdian, ending in the Sogdian word for city, *knδ>kaθ*. Coins from Tirmidh on the Oxus River are few and rare, so possibly the mint was temporary. There may have been other mints in use for a short period of time, but the chief mints have been mentioned.[138]

The geographer Iṣṭakhrī says that dirhems were used in Bukhara but not dīnārs.[139] Yāqūt has the same statement, adding that this applied to the time of the Sāmānids.[140] The problem of gold and silver standards is complicated and can-

135 C. M. Fraehn, *Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum*, (St. Petersburg, 1826), 16***, no. *4; B. Dorn, *Ch. M. Fraehnii Supplementa ad Recensionem* (St. Petersburg, 1855), 35–36, nos. c-4, a 6, b 9.

136 C. M. Fraehn, *Recensio*, 34, no. *238. P. Casanova, *Inventaire Sommaire de la Collection des Monnaies Musulmanes de S.A. la Princesse Ismaïl* (Paris, 1896), 21; no. 502, is the same. The coin dated 170/786 from Ma'din al-Shāsh, no. 501, is doubtful, and may be 190.

137 W. Tiesenhausen, "O Samanidskikh Monetakh," *Zapiski Imperatorskago Arkheologicheskago O-va.*, 6 (St. Petersburg, 1853), 34–35. Al-Shāsh may have been the chief mint of the Sāmānids.

138 *Ibid.*, 205. Tiesenhausen mentions a dirhem struck at Farab (Firabr), near Bukhara in 342/953, in the name of the Caliph.

139 Iṣṭakhrī, ed. M. De Goeje, *BGA* 1 (Leiden, 1870), 314.

140 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 1 (Leipzig, 1924), 519.

not be discussed here, but the collection of gold coins in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society alone is enough to disprove the statements of the Muslim geographers. Dīnārs minted in al-Shāsh 248–253/862–867, in Samarkand 247–310/861–922, and elsewhere, indicate that gold did not vanish and silver occupy its place. On the other hand, silver certainly did predominate over gold as the medium of exchange in this period. It is known that silver was the money of the steppes, and the hoards of Islamic coins found in Eastern Europe are conspicuous for the absence of gold coins. Therein lies another reason for the development of the silver mines of Transoxiana, and the increased amount of currency in circulation. The coinage became more and more debased, evidence for which is found both in literary texts and in the coins themselves. This, however, is an involved economic question requiring detailed investigation of the literary sources. Further investigation of Sāmānid currency would take us into new areas with many new problems.

PERSIAN TEXT OF
CHAPTER 17 OF NARSHAKHI'S
HISTORY OF BUKHARA

ذکر درهم و سیم زدن ببخارا

نخستین کسی که سیم زد ببخارا پادشاهی بود نام او کانا بخار خدات و او
سی سال بر بخارا پادشاه بود و در بخارا بازرگانی بکرباس و گندم بود اورا
خبر دادند که بولایتهای دیگر سیم زده‌اند او نیز بفرمود تا ببخارا سیم زدند از
نقرهٔ خالص وبرآن صورتی خویش فرمود با تاج واین بروزگار خلافت امیر
المؤمنین ابوبکر صدیق رضی الله عنه همچنان بود تا بروزگار [نواب] هارون
الرشید غطریف بن عطا امیر خراسان شد در ماه رمضان بسال صد و هشتاد وپنج
واین غطریف برادر مادر هارون الرشید بود ومادر هارون الرشید خیزران نام
بود دختر عطا از یمن از شهریکه آنرا جرش خوانند واسیر افتاده بود بطبرستان
واز آنجا اورا بنزدیك مهدی آوردند مهدی‌را از وی دو پسر آمد یکی موسی
الهادی و دوم هارون الرشید وچون کار خیزران بزرگ شد این غطریف بنزدیک
وی آمد [از یمن] وبا او می بود هارون الرشید خراسان بوی داد وبدان تاریخ
در دست مردمان سیم خوارزم روان شده بود ومردمان آن سیم‌را بناخوش دلی
گرفتندی وآن سیم بخارا [که روان‌شده] از دست مردمان بیرون شده بود چون
غطریف‌بن عطا بخراسان آمد اشراف و اعیان بخارا بنزدیک او رفتند و از وی در
خواستند که مارا سیم نمانده است در شهر امیر خراسان فرماید تا مارا سیم زنند و
بهمان سکه زنند که سیم بخارا در قدیم بوده است و سیمی می باید که هیچکس از
دست ما بیرون نتواند کرد و از شهر ما بیرون نبرد تا ما با سیم میان خویش
معاملت بکنیم و بدان تاریخ نقرهٔ عزیز بود پس اهل شهررا جمع کردند و از
ایشان رأی خواستند در این معنی برآن اتفاق کردند که سیم زنند از شش چیز
زر و نقره و مسنگ و ارزیز و آهن و مس همچنان کردند وبآن سکهٔ پیشین
بنام غطریف زدند یعنی سیم غطریفی و عامهٔ مردمان غدرفی خواندی و
سیم قدیم از نقرهٔ خالص بود و این سیم که باخلاط زدند سیاه آمد اهل
بخارا نگرفتند سلطان خشم کردشان و بکراهت میگرفتند و قیمت نهادند
شش غدرفی بیک درهم سنگ نقرهٔ خالص وسلطان بهمین قیمت گرفت تا
رایج شد[1] و بدین سبب خراج بخارا گران شد بهرآنکه خراج بخارا
درقدیم دویست هزار درم نقره بود چیزی کم چون غدرفی زدند و شش
درم سنگ نقره رایج شد سلطان بهمین غدرفی بر ایشان لازم کرد چون [نرخ]

(1) Teheran ed. MS. D: تا خراجرا آنچه شد

غدرفی عزیز شد وچنان شد که درم غدرفی بدرم نقره روان شد و سلطان
نقره نخواست و غدرفی خواست خراج بخارا از دویست هزار درم نقره
کم چیزی بود بیکبار[2] هزار هزار درم و شصت هزار و هشت هزار
وپانصد و شصت و هفت درم غدرفی بر آمد محمدبن جعفر آورده است که بسال
دویست وبیست[3] [صد] درم نقره پاکیزه بهشتاد وپنج درم غدرفی بوده است
احمد بن نصر گوید در شهور سنه اثنین و عشرین و خمسمایه بود که ما این
کتاب را ترجمه کردیم صد درم نقره خالص بهفتاد درم غدرفی بود و زر
سرخ[4] مثقالی بهفت ونیم درم غدرفی بود محمد بن جعفر آورده‌است که
این غدرفی بکوشک ماخک زده‌اند در شهر بخارا و در سیم غدرفی نقره
بیشتر از اخلاط دیگر است و گفته اند که در هر درمی یک حبه زر است و در
هژده درم بوزن نیم درم سنگ یا چهار دانگ ونیم باشد وببخارا عدلی [و]
پشیز بسیار زده اند هرکسی از آل سامان واز پادشاهان دیگر بعد از آل سامان
ذکر آن کرده نشد چون در آن عجبی نبود

(2) Teheran ed. MS. D: خراج بخارا از آن سبب زیاده صد هزار درم شصت هزار و هشت هزار درم

(3) MS. A: دویست شصت و بیست. It is better to assume that صد has fallen out.

(4) Schefer ed.: در شرع

The chapter on numismatics in Narshakhī's Ta'rīkh-i-Bukhārā *has been translated before, but the translations (except that by P. Lerch) have all been based on the text edited by C. Schefer (Paris, 1893). The present translation is based upon the Teheran edition, 1936, ed. Prof. Raḍavī, with variants (very few) as found in the manuscript of the British Museum* [cf. *C. Rieu,* Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum (*London, 1895*), *58, no. 87*], *designated* R, *and in a manuscript in the library of the American Oriental Society, designated* A.

TRANSLATION

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MINTING OF DIRHEMS AND SILVER IN BUKHARA[1]

THE first person who coined silver in Bukhara was a ruler named Kānā (*R:* Kātā) Bukhār Khudāt. He was the ruler over Bukhara for thirty years.[2] In Bukhara trading was done with cotton cloth and wheat.[3] He was informed that in other countries silver money was coined. So he too ordered coins to be struck in Bukhara of purified silver, and

[1] The text and translation of this section first appeared in P. Lerkh, "Monety Bukhar-Khudatov," *Trudy Vostochnago Otdeleniya Russ. Arkh. O-va.*, 18 (1876), 60–68. Another version is given pp. 69–74. It was partly translated, apparently without knowledge of Lerkh's work, by E. Blochet in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1927), 158–159, and by H. A. R. Gibb in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2 (1937), 301–302.

[2] The Sogdian name *k'n'kk* has already been mentioned (footnote 99). J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), 151, identified him with 伽那設, *Chia-na shê*, Karlgren's reconstruction: *g'ia nâ śiät*, Kana shad, prince of the T'u chüeh (Turks); *cf.* E. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, 30, 57.

[3] H. A. R. Gibb, *op. cit.*, 301, translates this sentence: "The merchants of Bukhārā who were engaged in the cotton and grain trade informed him that silver coins had been struck in other countries." The majority of manuscripts do not support this translation.

he ordered his image, with a crown, to be put on them. This was in the time of the Caliphate of the commander of the faithful Abū Bakr(al-)Ṣiddīq, God be pleased with him. So it was until in the time of (*A:* the vice regent, نواب) Hārūn al-Rashīd, when Ghiṭrīf ibn ʻAṭā became amīr of Khurāsān in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 185 (September 801).[4] This Ghiṭrīf was the brother of the mother of Hārūn al-Rashīd. His mother was called Khaizurān, the daughter of ʻAṭā from the city of Yemen which is called Jurash (*R* and *A:* خداش). She was taken prisoner in Ṭabaristān, and from there was brought to the Caliph al-Mahdī, who had two sons by her. One was Mūsā al-Hādī and the second was Hārūn al-Rashīd. After Khaizurān had reached such a high position this Ghiṭrīf came to her (*R* adds: from Yemen) and remained with her. Hārūn al-Rashīd gave him (the governorship of) Khurāsān.

At that time the coins of Khwārazm were in circulation among the people, but the people took those coins with reluctance.[5] The money of Bukhara (*R* adds: which had been current) had disappeared among the people. When Ghiṭrīf ibn ʻAṭā came to Khurāsān, the notables and leaders of Bukhara went to him and requested that since they had no silver left in the city, the amīr of Khurāsān should order money to be coined for them from the same die[6] as was used for the

[4] Ṭabarī (ed. De Goeje), 3, 612, 622, merely says he was appointed governor of Khurāsān in 175/791, and was removed the next year. The *haštād* of Narshakhī's text should be corrected to *haftād*. Yaʻqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. T. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883), 2, 481, says he was the slave of a man of Jurash (in Yemen), and was recommended to the caliph by ʻAlī ibn Sulaimān ibn ʻAlī the wazīr; *cf.* p. 488. This was in the time of Mahdī; see Ibn al-Athīr, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leiden, 1851–1876), 6, 84. On Khaizurān see Ibn al-Athīr, *ibid.*, 6, 27, and the index to Ṭabarī for many entries.

[5] These are probably the pre-Islamic coins of Khwārazm discussed above.

[6] Walker, *op. cit.*, cli, translates سكه as "die." Blochet, *op. cit.*, 159, as "of the same type."

coins of Bukhara in ancient times. "The coin should be (such) that no one would take it from us or out of our city, so we can carry on trading amongst ourselves with (this) money." At that time silver was expensive. Then the people of the city were assembled and their opinion asked on this matter. They agreed that money should be struck of six things: gold, silver, **msnk*, tin, iron, and copper.[7] So it was done. They struck

[7] P. Lerch, "Sur les monnaies des Boukhâr-Khoudahs," *Travaux de la troisième session du Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 2 (St. Petersburg, 1879), 427, gave two variants: *msk* and *mnsk* (A; *mnk*). He explained this as a word the translator of Narshakhī (from the original Arabic to Persian) could not understand, hence wrote in *musk*. N. Veselovsky, in the *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya* (St. Petersburg, December, 1897), 467, suggested that the Persian word for *tin* should fill this corrupt reading, which is given as *msk*, since tin was a metal found in the analysis of the coins. Veselovsky, however, does not say what the word for tin, which he proposes, is, nor does he give us the chemical analysis of the coins. That this suggestion is to be rejected is evident on looking at the following word in the text, which is "tin." It has been mistakenly translated as "lead." This word ارزیز is to be translated as "tin." Qazwīnī, ed. G. Le Strange, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, Persian text (London, 1915), 262, line 20, trans. 256, specifically identifies this word with the Arabic *qala'ī*. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, "An Observation on the Alloy of the *Ghitrifi* Coins," The American Numismatic Society, *Museum Notes* 1 (1945), 101–104, suggests that these coins were really an alloy of copper and lead. He quotes the work of Gardīzī as a source for this statement. A chemical analysis of the coins should reveal the truth, for other Islamic texts have different statements. In the *Kitāb al-Ansāb* of Sam'ānī, ed. D. S. Margoliouth (London, 1912), 410 a, lines 18–21, almost the identical words used by Narshakhī are found, which indicates that both are from the same source, or the former copied from the latter. Sam'ānī says of Ghiṭrīf ibn 'Aṭā: "When he became amīr over Khurāsān in the year 171/787 [*sic*], during the caliphate of Rashīd, the people of Bukhārā asked him to strike dirhems for them, which could not be carried anywhere and would not be current elsewhere. He struck dirhems, in [one] of which were a number of fine minerals. When it was melted, nothing was left over (*i.e.*, they all fused together). There was alloyed [the following]: gold, silver, iron, lead and copper, ground together with musk ولطحن بمسک. They struck Ghiṭrīfī dirhems from these." Sam'ānī gives رصاص, which is usually translated (and so above) as "lead," but "lead" is properly Persian سرب,

coins with the former die, with the name of Ghiṭrīf,[8] *i.e.*—Ghiṭrīfī money.[9] The common people called them Ghidrifi. The old coins had been made of pure silver, but this money, which was struck in alloy, came out black, and the people of

Arabic آنك; *cf.* al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Jamāhir* (Hyderabad, 1936), 258. Here رصاص must be translated as "tin" (white lead). The impossibility of the word *musk* is obvious. A communication from Dr. W. B. Henning solves the difficulty.

"The unknown name of the sixth metal which by Narshakhī is given as *msk*, *mšk*, and **msnk* (misspelt *mnk* in cursive script) was almost certainly *msnk*. In this we may tentatively recognize the word for brass (in the modern sense, *i.e.* alloy of copper and zinc) familiar from German *Messing*. The opinion that the Germanic word (MHG. *messinc*, *missinc*, Angl.-Saxon *maestling*, ON. *messing*, *mersing*) is derived not from Latin *massa* but from an Eastern source was long ago advanced by F. Kluge and O. Schrader, who pointed to Slavonic words such as Polish *mosiądz* for which Miklosich posed Slavonic **moseng'u*. The Persian word preserved by Narshakhī may well have been the source of the Slavonic word. As the vowels of *msnk* are unknown (*mising* ?) we cannot say whether it is a cross-form of *mis* 'copper' and *piring* (*birinj*) 'bronze,' later 'brass'; this was, *mutatis mutandis*, assumed already by Schrader."

[8] Veselovsky, *op. cit.*, 467, translated this "in the name of Ghiṭrīf," but Barthold, *Turkestan*, 207, rightly says that Narshakhī's words admit of no doubt; the coins were struck with the name upon them. No such coins have been found.

[9] For a summary of Islamic authors on the Ghiṭrīfī coins *cf.* H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique Musulmane* (Paris, 1882), under Ghiṭrīfī. Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. T. G. Juynboll (Leiden, 1861), 73, says that the dirhems of Bukhara are like copper. Yāqūt, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 1 (Leipzig, 1924), 519, says they are made of iron, copper صفر, lead آنك, and other metals. They were used only in Bukhara and vicinity. They had pictures on them but were Islamic coins, as were also the Muḥammadī and Musaiyabī dirhems. Ibn Faḍlān (ed. Zeki-Validi Togan, 5; Russian ed., 57), says they were made of copper, red copper, and yellow copper نحاس وشبه وصفر, and one hundred of them equalled one silver dirhem, which does not agree with Narshakhī. Maqdīsī, ed. De Goeje, *BGA* 3, 340, says one silver dirhem equalled six Ghiṭrifīs, in accord with Narshakhī. Al-Bīrūnī, in his *Kitāb al-Jamāhir*, *op. cit.*, 246, says, "The Ghiṭrīfī are nothing but *fulūs* (copper coins) struck of copper (with) a mixture in it." He then gives a poem about them.

Bukhara would not accept it. The government (*sulṭān*) became angry with them, and they took the money by compulsion. The exchange was established at six Ghidrifis for one dirhem's weight of pure silver. The government accepted it at this rate (for taxes), so that it became current. Because of this the tax of Bukhara became heavy, for the tax of Bukhara in olden times was two hundred thousand silver dirhems, or a little less.[10] After Ghidrifis were struck and became current at six for a dirhem's weight of silver, the government compelled the people to pay (taxes) in these Ghidrifis. When the (*A:* price of the) Ghidrifi became dear, and it turned out that the Ghidrifi dirhem became equivalent to the silver dirhem, the government refused to accept the silver dirhems, but demanded the Ghidrifis.[11] The tax of Bukhara rose suddenly from a little less than two hundred thousand silver dirhems to 1, [1] 68,567 Ghidrifi dirhems.[12]

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far relates that in the year two hundred and twenty [one hundred] dirhems of pure silver equalled eighty-five Ghidrifi dirhems.[13] Aḥmad ibn Naṣr says that in the year 522/1128 (only *A* has the figure complete), when he translated this book, one hundred pure silver dirhems equalled

10 Veselovsky, *op. cit.*, 468, translates this, "which was a trifle." This interpretation is disputed by Barthold, *Turkestan*, 204, note 2.

11 Gibb, *op. cit.*, 302, translates this sentence, "the government asked for silver and ghidrifis (equally)."

12 An alternate reading of the Teheran edition is 168,000. E. Blochet, *op. cit.*, 160, has 1,608,567. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 204, adds up the variants and proposes 1,168,567, which is the correct interpretation.

13 Veselovsky, *op. cit.*, 468, adds صد, to read, "In the year 220, one hundred dirhems equalled eighty-five Ghidrīfis." The reading is uncertain and we have no evidence from numismatics or from other texts. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 204, note 4, accepts the emendation of Veselovsky. Manuscript *A* adds sixty between the two hundred and the twenty, which might be interpreted, "in the year two hundred and sixty, twenty dirhems, etc."

seventy Ghidrifī dirhems. A red-gold mithqāl was equal to seven and one-half Ghidrifī dirhems.[14]

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far stated that this Ghidrifī was coined in the castle of Mākhak in the city of Bukhara.[15] The Ghidrifī coin contains more of silver than of the other alloys. It is said that there is one grain (*R* and *A:* "portion") of gold in each dirhem, and in every ten dirhems (*sic*) it is found in the amount from half a dirhem's weight to four and one-half *dāng*.[16] Many [of the copper coins called] '*adlī* (and) *pishīz*

[14] Manuscript *R*, Schefer's ed., and Gibb, *op. cit.*, 302, have در شرع, "in law a mithqāl was worth —." For a discussion of the economic significance of this passage see R. P. Blake, "The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East," *HJAS* 2 (1937), 303–306.

[15] The name *Mākh* or *Mākhak* was given to a mosque in Bukhara, and possibly to the surrounding district as well. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, 4, 380, says that the man for whom the mosque was named had been a fire-worshipper (*majūsī*), then became a Muslim and made a mosque out of the temple (*dār ?*). Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, 499 a, tells the same story and gives a list of prominent people of Bukhara with that name. A. Christensen, "Die Moschee Mākh in Buḫārā," *Orientalistische Litteratur Zeitung*, 7 (1904), 49–51, connects the word with *māh*, Persian "moon, month." The Sogdian form is *māχ*; *cf.* al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār al-Bāqiya*, ed. E. Sachau, 30, 46, trans. 34, 56. Whether this is to be connected with a moon cult, as Christensen thinks, is questionable; see V. Bartold, "Mesta do-Musulmanskogo kulta v Bukhare i ee okrestnostyakh," *Vostochnoe Zapiski*, 1 (Leningrad, 1927), 18. According to Bartold, 15–16, there were two mosques of Mākhak in Bukhara, one in the bazar of Aṭṭar, and the other in the Kurpi bazar. The mosque of Magok-Attar was excavated in 1935, and by stratification was dated in the ninth century A.D. A full report of the work has not been seen, but for a short notice of the excavation see *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, 3 (1937), 270.

[16] The Persian form of the word is *dāng*, Arabic *dāniq*; see the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, 1, 2. Abteilung (Strassburg, 1901), 63. This would be three-fourths of a dirhem. Walker, *op. cit.*, cli, note 2, indicates the absurdity of this, but fails to see the error. W. B. Henning called attention to this, and proposed a revised reading. If one dirhem contained one *ḥabba* of gold, obviously ten dirhems contained ten *ḥabba*, which is much less than one-half a dirhem. A *ḥabba* is 1/36 of a dirhem, hence one must read هزده instead of هرده. The original text, as reconstructed by Henning, must have read:

The relation of gold to silver in the year 1120 A.D. was 1 to 7.5, according to A. Davidovich in a series of articles.

(=*fals*)[17] were struck in Bukhara by every one of the Sāmānid dynasty, and of the other rulers after the Sāmānids. These have not been mentioned, for there is nothing remarkable in it.

وگفته اند که در هر درمی یک حبه زر است [یا یک حبه و نیم] و در هژده درم بوزن نیم درم سنگ یا چهار دانگ و نیم باشد

"They say that in every dirhem there is one grain of gold, or one and one-half. In eighteen dirhems this amounts to one-half a dirhem, respectively three-fourths of a dirhem in weight."

[17] The *'adlī* (the reading *'adalī* is also possible) was a coin of small value, apparently an alloy. They were said to be in use in Daylam on the Caspian Sea coast. The exact value, or identification with coins which have survived, is unknown. For further information see Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, *JA*, 1881, 502, 506, also the glossary to the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. De Goeje, 4 (Leiden, 1879), 297. For a discussion of the meaning of the word see W. Tiesenhausen, *Notice sur une collection de monnaies orientales de M. le Comte S. Stroganoff* (St. Petersburg, 1880), 55–56. In Khwārazm in the thirteenth century A.D., they had a coin called عدليک. [Professor Zeki Validi Togan, Istanbul, in June 1948 told me there were two different coins in use in Khwārazm, the *'adlī* and the *'adalī*. He is at present making a special study of Medieval Khwārazm.] *Pishīz* is another coin of small value. It is described as small in size. For literary references to it, including verses, see Ziya Şükûn, *Farsça-Türkçe Lügat* (Istanbul, 1946), 488. In a manuscript copy of the كتاب تحفه التعادة, a Persian-Persian dictionary, India Office manuscript no. 1294 (Ethé 2458), foll. 32 b, the following definition is found, which is not entirely clear:

بشیز باء فارسی مفتوح و شین مکسور مهری از نقره و درم ماهی ویک بایه
دانگ ای چهار مرحقّه از دانگ که بتازی فلس گویند چنانچ شیخ سعدی فرماید
بیت نیست سخا دادن بسیار چیز از درمی دانگ ز دانگی بشیز

"*Pishīz*, with a Persian b (*i.e. p*), vowel a, *sh* with an i, is a seal made of silver, also a *māhī* dirhem, a subdivision of a *dāng*, *i.e.* four ———— (?) of a *dāng*, which is called *fals* in Arabic. As Shaikh Sa'dī says, many are the things not bestowed with ease; from a dirhem a *dang*, and from a *dang* a *pishīz* "

I take *māhī* to be the word ماهه, ماهچه, or ماشه, which is one-twelfth of a توله, which in turn was two and one-half mithqāls in the last century. The [va]lue in Narshakhī's time is unknown.

Pishiz means "scale (of a fish." probably originated in the ancient confusion of φόλλις and φολίς.

PROVENANCE OF COINS ILLUSTRATED ON THE FRONTISPIECE

1. Æ. Obv. and rev., British Museum. Wt. 4.74 grm.
2. Æ. Obv. and rev., British Museum. Wt. 2.26 grm.
3. Æ. Obv. and rev., British Museum. Wt. 2.16 grm.
4. Æ. Obv. and rev., Ex-Newell Collection, American Numismatic Society. Wt. 1.91 grm.
5. Æ. Obv. and rev., Ex-Newell Collection, ANS. Wt. 2.62 grm.
6. Æ. Obv. and rev., Ex-Newell Collection, ANS. Wt. 2.12 grm.
7. Æ. Obv., Ex-Wood Collection, ANS. Wt. 2.67 grm.
8. Billon. Obv., Ex-Newell Collection ANS. Wt. 2.60 grm.
9. Æ. Obv., Ex-Newell Collection, ANS. Wt. 2.93 grm.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE EARLY COINAGE OF TRANSOXIANA

The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes
IV, 1950.

REPRINTED FROM
THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY MUSEUM NOTES IV, 1950.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE EARLY COINAGE OF TRANSOXIANA

Since the publication of *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 113 (New York, 1949),[1] some new materials have come to hand which add to our knowledge of the numismatic history of pre-Islamic Transoxiana.

The first book is the monumental work of S. P. Tolstov, *Drevnij Xorezm* (Moscow, 1948), 352 pp. and 87 plates. The second is the more popular presentation of the same material, but with some additions, his *Po Sledam Drevne Xorezmijskoj Civilizacii* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1948), 325 pp. Finally, the article by M. M. Javič, "Zamečanija o neissledovannom sredneaziatskom alfavite," *Trudy Otdela Istorii Kultury i Iskusstva Vostoka*, 4 (Leningrad, 1947), 205–224, is of special interest to our subject.

In chapter four of *Drevnij Xorezm* Tolstov discusses "the coins of the Siyavušids and the Afrigids," with plates 84 and 85 which unfortunately have poor reproductions. Tolstov studies the markings (mint marks or engraver's signs) on the Khwārazmian coins and comes to several interesting conclusions. The analogies of the markings on the Khwārazmian coins and pottery with the signs on the coins of the Bosphoran Kingdom of South Russia and the Crimea (first to third centuries A. D.) on the one hand, and with the Hephtalite and Kushan coins on the other, are indeed striking. Even the special marks or signs used by the Varangian rulers of Kiev seem to point to an adaptation of prototypes from the East.

[1] Hereafter referred to as *Notes*.

The fact that the Khwārazmian signs have been found on pottery as well as coins would indicate that we have here a dynastic seal or coat of arms. A study of the *Wappenkunde* of the Turks and other peoples of Central Asia, similar to the work of Mayer on Saracenic heraldry, is a much needed desideratum.

Tolstov concludes that there was a connection between the ruling families of Khwārazm, the Massagetae-Saka-Sarmatian dynasty of the Bosphoran kingdom, the Kushans, the Hephtalites, and the Arsacids of Iran. This is an attractive hypothesis but the available material does not warrant such a generalization.

After a study of a greater number of coins, Tolstov proposes additions and emendations to his readings of the coin legends reported in *Notes*, 20. The name ژكبته, the Muslim form of which was ʿAbdallāh, is now emended by Tolstov to read ژكسنثه, which he compares with Τουρκζανθης (*sic* Τούρξανθος), the name of the Turkish prince mentioned by the Byzantine historian Menander (Cf. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 [Budapest, 1943], 276). The Khwārazmian legend (*Notes*, 20) is read as ʿ*bdwl MLK*ʾ "ʿAbdallāh shāh," a reading which is open to question. On several class A coins (*Notes*, 18) Tolstov finds a legend which he reads ʾ*pwrg*, which is the first ruler in the list of Khwārazmian kings given by al-Bīrūnī, افريغ. A different legend on several coins of the same class is read as *wrθwmx*, the ارثموخ of al-Bīrūnī. In short, Tolstov has succeeded in identifying most of the coins as issues of the rulers of Khwārazm in pre-Islamic times. On copper coins (class AA, α) Tolstov reads the legend *K*ʾ*ng MR*ʾ *MLK*ʾ ʾ*skwčwr prrk* "lord king of Kang, Askačuvar, blessing." I know of one parallel in Sogdian with the two titles *MR*ʾ and *MLK*ʾ fol-

lowing one another, but this reading is open to doubt. The name *Kang*, according to Tolstov, is the K'ang chü (Medieval: *k'ang kįwo*) of Chinese sources, another name for the state of Khwārazm. This identification, however, has been disputed by A. N. Bernštam; cf. his review of Tolstov's *Drevnij Xorezm* in *Izvetija Akademii Nauk, Serija Istorii i Filosofii*, 6 (1949), 93-6. In his writings Bernštam has sought to equate the Chinese *K'ang chü* (or *kü*) with the Ili valley in the present Kirghiz SSR.

Tolstov reached four general conclusions in his study of the coins of Khwārazm. First, a study of the markings on the coins of all classes shows that the information given by the Arabic and Chinese sources, meagre though it is, is correct in assuming that there was one dynasty, the Siyavušid-Afrigid, ruling in Khwārazm from the first to the eighth centuries A.D. Second, the assertion in Chinese annals that the ruling families of Khwārazm, Sughd, and Shāsh were related is confirmed by a study of the coins of the Kushans and Khwārazmians. Further, it would seem that the rulers of the Bosphoran kingdom were a branch of ther uling family of Khwārazm.[1a] Third, the discovery of coins and silver goblets with Khwārazmian inscriptions on them in Eastern Europe, especially in sites along the Volga, indicates that the trade of Khwārazm with eastern Europe, well established for the tenth century A. D. and later, was flourishing at a much earlier date. Finally, the preservation of the ancient coinage of Khwārazm into the eighth century A. D. shows the independence and continuity of Khwārazmian culture. The adoption of Sasanian symbols on the coinage of Khwārazm, however, indicates the strong influence of the neighboring great power.

These same theses are developed by Tolstov in his more

[1a] This is not supported by V. F. Gajdukevič in his recent book *Bosporskoe Carstvo* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1949).

popular work, "On the traces of ancient Khwārazmian civilization." In this book he proposes the existence of a Khwārazmian-Khazar state extending far into South Russia and into Central Asia just before the Arab conquests. Needless to say, the works of Tolstov are exceedingly important for the early history of Central Asia. His readings of the coin legends, however, are not convincing. In addition to the remarks I made in *Notes*, it should be noted that the reading '*bdwl MLK*' would probably render 'Abd al-Malik, rather than 'Abdallāh, if the reading '*bdwl* were satisfactory, which it is not.

Further work on the Khwārazmian coins must await the results of the decipherment of the documents in Khwārazmian which have recently been found. This discovery of documents (on wood and parchment) written in the Khwārazmian language and alphabet, the latter derived from the script of the Parthians and ultimately from Aramaic, has opened new vistas in Central Asian studies. Cf. *Archeology*, 54 (1950), 68, and *The New York Times*, October 2 (1949), 23.

The article by Javič, on an unknown alphabet of Central Asia, is concerned with the coins of Bukhara. Javič revives the old reading of the last word of the legend as *k'n'*, the ruler of Bukhara mentioned by Naršaχī, but he offers no reading for the first part of the legend.[2] The main contribution of his article is the indication that we have the same alphabet on several silver goblets from the Hermitage museum as is found on the coins of Bukhara. I hope to deal with these inscriptions, and others not mentioned by Javič, elsewhere. In conclusion, a few words about the various alphabets employed on the pre-Islamic coins of Transoxiana may be offered.

[2] One word discussed by Javič, the اهل بخارتک of al-Bīrūnī, *Atbār al-bāqiya*, ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1876), 69, is to be read بخاریک *pwγ'r'k* "Bukharans." J. Marquart, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran," *Philologus*, *Supplementband*, 10 (Leipzig, 1905), 99, note 3, reads this as *čaryak* "a town quarter."

From the material of Tolstov, Javič and others, I think one may come to the following conclusions:

1. There were three related scripts in use in Transoxiana at the time of the Arab conquests. On the coins of Sughd and Samarqand we find a cursive script almost identical with the cursive script of the Buddhist documents from Chinese Turkistan. The coins of Bukhara (the so-called "Bukhar Khudāh" coins), however, retained a more archaic non-cursive script until it was replaced by Arabic. Finally, in Khwārazm a third script was used, unlike the other two, but having affinities with both. Tolstov shows that the script of Khwārazm evolved from inscriptional characters to a cursive script.

2. It seems likely that the script on the coins of Bukhara was not in common use by the people of Bukhara at the time of the Arab conquests, for at that time we know that cursive scripts were used in Chinese Turkistan and probably also in Transoxiana.[3] Furthermore, the people of Bukhara probably could not even read the legends on their coins; witness the degeneration of the legend and the misreading with *k'n'*. The alphabet on these "Bukhar Khudāh" coins is very close to the Sogdian alphabet of the "Old Letters," dating from the fourth century A. D. (Cf. Henning *apud* Frye, *Notes*, 27.)

It is probable that the older non-cursive, inscriptional alphabets were used in Khwārazm, Bukhara and Samarqand as archaic survivals solely for coins and inscriptions, while

[3] Sogdian words in the cursive (Buddhist) script have been found painted on potsherds from Merv; cf. A. Freiman, "Sogdijskaja nadpis iz Starogo Merva," *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedenija*, 7 (1939), 296–302. It is also of interest to note that a potsherd from the excavation of Tali Barzu, near Samarqand, had several letters of the non-cursive script of the "Old Letters" incised upon it. Cf. A. Freiman, "Drevnejšaja sogdijskaja nadpis," *VDI* (1939), no. 3, 135. Does this indicate that both scripts were in use at the time of the Arab conquests, one (the archaic non-cursive) used for engraving and inscriptions, while the other (the Buddhist cursive) used for writing? The evidence of the "Old Letters" would tend to support the conclusion that inscriptions with the non-cursive script are older and not contemporary with the cursive (Buddhist) script.

cursive scripts were employed for everyday use in the seventh century A. D.

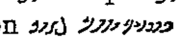
3. It would seem that the script of Khwārazm was derived directly from the Pahlavik of Arsacid Iran, while the scripts of Bukhara and Samarqand (the latter is cursive Sogdian) had different lineages, perhaps going back to Achaemenid times.

4. The last remnants of a debased Greek script are found on the coins of the Hephtalites, after which all traces of Greek vanish from Central Asia.

Additions and Corrections to *NOTES*

p. 22, note 86: This inscription has been read by Henning as follows: *γypδ* 30 *δrγmyk* "– own 30 *drams*."

p. 26, line 20: Delete "either from the last decennium of the second century." W. B. Henning, "The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," *BSOAS*, 12 (1948), 615, has assigned the dates 312 and 313 A. D. to the letters.

p. 29: Further confirmation of the reading *pwy'r γwβ* "King of Bukhara," is found in the inscription on the lip of the silver kettle now in the Hermitage museum. Cf. Leonid Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike* (Berlin, 1929) 3, no. 3, and p. 25, fig. 4, also M.M. Javič, *op. cit.*, 210. The inscription  is to be read *pwy'r γwβδzwy* (?), "King of Bukhara *δzwy*(?)."

p. 32 Sogdian Coins: After the publication of *Notes*, I received a copy of the article by O. I. Smirnova, "Novye dannye po istorii Sogda," *VDI* (1939), no, 4, 97–102, in which the coins with cursive Sogdian legends are divided into two classes. One group is distinguished by the square hole in the center of each coin (similar to Chinese coins), while the second group has no hole but the face of a ruler, similar to the Indo-Iranian coins. (I am unable to discover to which Indo-Iranian coins Smirnova refers.) On both classes of coins the following

titles have been read: *MR'Y* "lord," *γwβw* "king," and *βγy* "god, *Herr*."

Among the coins of the first class are three pieces in the Hermitage museum with Chinese characters 開元通寳 *k'ai yüan t'ung pao* "coin of K'ai yüan" written on the obverse. (*sic*: *t'ung pao* does not mean "coin;" it is rather a proper name or title and cannot be translated. -RNF)[3a] On the reverse is the Sogdian word *βγy*. Chinese coins of the K'ai yüan period first appear in the year 621, so the Sogdian coins must date after this.

On a unique coin of the Hermitage of the first class, is a Sogdian inscription read as *twrγ'γ MLK'* "king *twrγ'γ*." A unique coin of the second class, preserved in the state museum of Samarqand, has a Sogdian inscription read as *mtčyr MR'Y* "lord *mtčyr*." This coin has a mark on it similar to the mark on the coins of Tarχūn and Bγšwm'n, rulers of Sughd. A like sign is found on the coins of Khwārazm, and also on the Kufic coins of al-Ashās ibn Yaḥyā, governor of Samarqand for the 'Abbāsids in 143–4/760–1.

According to Chinese sources, the ruler of Sughd, Ugurak (Γurek) was defeated by the Arabs, and in 719 A.D. turned to the T'ang court for aid, which, however, could not be given. In 731 the same ruler requested the grant of the title "king of Ts'ao" 曹 (Ištiχan) for his son T'u ho 咄 曷 (Medieval: *tś'i̯uet γát*) and the title "king of Mi" 米 (Maimurγ) for another son Mo cho 默 啜 (Medieval: *mək ti̯wät*). This request was granted by the "son of heaven," and on the death of Ugurak, his son T'u ho succeeded him as the ruler of Samarqand.[4] The name *twrγ'γ*, found on the coin mentioned above, is the Sog-

[3a] These coins were first studied by K. Donner, "Sur l'origine de l'alphabet turc du Nord de l'Asie," *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, 14 (Helsinki, 1896), 33.
[4] The information from Chinese sources is taken from E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903), 136, 204.

dian original of the Chinese T'u ho, and is probably of Turkish origin. The second son of Ugurak, *mtčyr*, must be the Mo cho of Chinese sources. This name is also Turkish, since it occurs as the name of one of the rulers of the northern Turks. (It is probably the مختار of Ṭabarī, 2, 1523 -RNF.) Since Ugurak died in 738, according to Chinese sources, the coin of T'u ho must have been minted after that date.

In another article of O. I. Smirnova, "Sogdijskij monety kak novyj istočnik dlja istorii Srednej Azii," *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, 6 (1949), 356–357, her studies are developed. She states that a classification of the Sogdian numismatic material reveals that coins of the Chinese type have been found only in Samarqand and vicinity. Five rulers of Samarqand have been identified by their coins. One, ruler of Samarqand in 696, is *twk'sp'δ'k MLK'* "*iχšid *tōkāspaδāk*," the *tuok sâ puât d'iei* of Chinese sources.[5] Study of the coins has confirmed the accounts of the rulers of Samarqand given by the Chinese and Arabic sources.

Again the absence of plates makes it impossible to check the readings of Smirnova. Suffice it so say that the archaeological discoveries of the Soviet scholars in Central Asia will shed much light on the little-known pre-Islamic history of this area of the world.

p. 36: In the *XXV Bjulleten sredneaziatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, vypusk 23 jubilejnyj (Tashkent, 1945), 190, I found a notice of a thesis prepared at the Central Asian University on the Musaiyabī dirhems, entitled "O proisχoždenii dirχemov Musejjabi, 1944 g." This thesis has not been published, but the very brief summary of the contents indicates that it deals with the entire picture of the early Islamic coinage in Transoxiana.

[5] Cf. my forthcoming article "*Tarxūn~Türxün* and Central Asian History," in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.*

The Persian *Ta'rīχ-i-Nīšapūr*, MS Bursa, Hüseyn Çelebi, Tarih 18, foll. 65b, has a brief notice on the supposed three brothers, Muḥammad, Ghiṭrīf, and Musaiyab, who struck coins in Transoxiana. I hope to discuss this elsewhere, after the publication of the Persian text of the history.

p. 46, note 7 *msnk*: Another possibility for the interpretation of this form is that it is a cross form of *mis* "copper" and *'nk* "tin." The latter word is found in New Persian and Arabic as *ānuk*, Akkadian *anaku*; cf. F. W. Albright in the *American Historical Review*, 55 (1950), 347, and R. Campbell Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology* (Oxford, 1936), 121–2.

p. 48: To the detailed remarks on the word *dirhem*, δραχμή, by H. W. Bailey, "Indo-Iranica II," *BSOAS*, 13 (1949), 128–9, add the Sogdian form *δrymy*, found in A. Freiman, "Datirovannye sogdijskie dokumenty s gory Mug v Tadžikistane," *Trudy Instituta Vostokovedenija*, 17 (1936), 153.

p. 49, note on *pishīz*: In a letter dated April 3, 1949, Professor Henning says, "The word *pišīz* means properly 'scale (of a fish)'; the use of the word for 'a small coin' is strictly speaking misuse; it originated, as has long been recognized, in the barbarian (but ancient) confusion of φόλλις with φολλίς 'scale' (which is also reflected in the Arabic loan-word *fals* which represents both). The Persian word kept, beside the meaning 'coin', the old meaning 'scale', which is expressed by the lexicographer you quote by *diram-i-māhī* 'fish's drachm'; this in Persian means 'scale.' Sa'dī's verse, I suppose, should mean: To give a great amount of something is not necessarily generosity. To give a *dang* out of a single *diram*, or a *pišīz* out of a single *dang*, (that is generosity)."

p. 49 *dang*: G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (Chicago, 1948), 132, has found the word in an Elamite tablet, *da-na-kaš*, which is equated with OP **dānaka*, Gr. δανάκη(ς), a barbarian coin worth a little more than an (Attic) obol.

In the *Frahang-i-Pahlavīk*, ed. H. F. J. Junker (Heidelberg, 1912), ch. 30, p. 66, the series of coins (or weights) of Sasanian times is given: *pišīz*-1, *pišīz*-2, M'-1, M'-2, M'-3 or one-half *dīnār*, *M'*-4, M'-5, *dīnār*, *yāmak dast*-1, *dast*-2, *dast*-3, *dast*-4, *dast*-5, *dast*-6.

M' is the ideogram for *dāng*, according to the *Frahang*, ch. 16, p. 56. The *dāng*, then, is one-sixth of a *dīnār*. M' was unclear, but in a letter of April 26, 1949, Professor Henning wrote: "This is the abbreviation of an ideogram, on the same line as سـدّ – *gandum* 'wheat,' ىـدّ – *yav* (جوّ) 'barley,' etc., representing Ḥ' (=חטין) and Š' (=שערין) respectively. [illegible] – M' thus represents a suitable Aramaic word which begins with *m*-; perhaps מניא *manya*, which is used for a small coin (e. g. in the Syriac *Mark* 12. 42, where 'mite' in English.)" The word proposed by Henning is probably Greek μνᾶ, Latin *mina* (cf. A. Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* [Heidelberg, 1948], 2, 89). More likely is the Aramaic, מעה, *mā'ā* or *mā'Θā*, "the sixth part of a *dinar*, as above (cf. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targum* [New York, 1926], 813).

The translation of *yāmak dast* is "a suit of clothes," which can hardly be the meaning here. The R. P. De Menasce, in a letter of March 18, 1949, suggested the interpretation *ǰāmak*, meaning "glass," i. e. as indicating that *dast* refers to measures of capacity, whereas the other words refer to weight.

The *Frahang-i-Pahlavik* contains many enigmas and much work needs to be done before answers can be found to many of them.

RICHARD N. FRYE

40

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE EARLY COINAGE OF TRANSOXIANA II

The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes VII

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE EARLY COINAGE OF TRANSOXIANA II

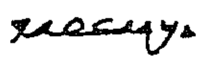
Some important information about the Khwarezmian coinage was received from Professor W. B. Henning after the printing of Additional Notes I,[1] and an unavoidable delay has elapsed in the publication of this material. Since that time the scholarly world has been waiting for the detailed publication of the Soviet excavations in Khwarezm where many coins were found, but the latest book on the subject has nothing new on the coins.[2] Therefore these remarks are published with the realization that more coins may revise the conclusions about their decipherment.[3]

* * *

Pp. 20–21

The writing in small and cursive characters on the obverse of these coins is not palpably different from the ordinary Sogdian cursive writing developed during the sixth and seventh centuries, indeed its resemblance to Sogdian cursive script is so great, even in minor details, that one would hesitate to describe it as Khwarezmian at all. This judgement is based solely on the single coin immediately available in a good specimen (Dr. Frye's plate, No. 2) and therefore necessarily provisional; it is a matter for regret that Tolstov's material, thanks to unscientific treatment, is unusable for serious study. The legend of the obverse of the coin referred to, which, as the obverse imitates the obverse of the later Sassanian coins, should

[1] *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes IV*, 105–114.
[2] S. P. Tolstov, ed., *Arxeologičeskie i etnografičeskie raboty Xorezmskoi ekspedicii* 1945–1948 (Moscow, 1952), 652 pp.
[3] All pages refer to the monograph *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 113, New York, 1949). Each remark is signed with the initials of its author.

represent the name of the ruler, appears to be . Read as Sogdian cursive script, this legend may be *zk''čw'r*; the initial letters are admittedly ambiguous, but the final *-čw'r* is quite clear, notably so also in Tolstov's drawing p. 135, where the third and fourth letters deviate. It so happens that one of the names in al-Beruni's list of the 22 Khwarezmian Shâhs ends in *-čw'r*, namely Nos. 5 = 13 ازكاجوار. My reading of the first letters is adapted to al-Beruni's form, which is not capable of many variants.[4] It may be helpful to show how the letters *zk''čw'r* would appear in the ordinary type of Sogdian cursive: ; the only difference is that *-k-* goes below the line in Sogdian, while in the coin legend its upper part is raised above the line.

The name of the king was thus *Zkāčwār*, (or *Zkācwār*, with *–c–* = *–ts–*); al-Beruni's spelling expresses the prothetic vowel commonly arising in Khwarezmian before initial consonant clusters (*əzkācwār*). He is, of course, the thirteenth (not the fifth) king of Beruni's list. As his immediate successor was contemporary with Qutaibah b. Muslim, Zkācwār must have ruled towards the end of the seventh century; this estimate is in agreement with the type of writing employed in the coin legend.

Tolstov's reading of this legend as *'bdwl-MLK* or *'bdwl-MLK* has merely curiosity value. His reading of another legend in cursive script (Tolstov, p. 134; Frye p. 20 line 4) as *Š'wšpr* is also not correct; the last three letters of the name, to judge by Tolstov's drawing, are very probably *–prn*. In itself, the importation of an obvious misspelling, such as *Š'wšfr* is, into coin legends is a singular mistake; for that شاوشفر is copyist's error for شاوشفن = *Šāwaš-fan(n)* is proved both by the transliteration of the name in Chinese and by the rules of Khwarezmian phonology; ancient *–rn–* appears regularly as *–n(n)–* in Khwarezmian, hence *–fan(n)* from *–farnah–*.

WBH

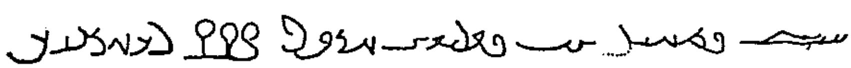
[4] The only variant worth considering is *'rk-* instead of *'zk-*; the coin legend, to judge by the material available, does not seem to support it.

P. 22

John Walker drew my attention to the Arabic legend الارزل on the coin of Hārūn al-Rashīd dated 171/787 and struck at Hamadān.[5] This is identical with the legend on the Khwarezmian coin figure 2 of *Notes*. This gives a sure dating for the Khwarezmian coin, and indicates that we have a parallel in coinage in Khwarezm with Bukhara. Both Khwarezmian and Bukharan coinage continued in use well into Islamic times. After a study of the style of both types of coins and the degeneration of the legends on both, one would be inclined to give more credence to Narshakhī's statement that coins were not minted in Bukhara before the time of Abū Bakr.[6] The Bukharan and Khwarezmian coinage both do not go back much before the Arab conquest. RNF

P. 22

Some years ago Dr. Frye kindly sent me a set of photographs of the inscribed objects reproduced in Smirnov's *Vostočnoe Serebro* and I recognized at once that one of the inscriptions concerned was in Sogdian. This inscription is on No. 71, a flat silver bowl without ornamentation. Only one side of the bowl is reproduced, and so only a part of the inscription (the last four words) can be seen; however, a drawing of the whole inscription accompanies the photograph. In front of the first word visible in the reproduction (the fourth word of the whole inscription), there appears to be a repair, or perhaps a label; but the drawing shows no break in the text. There is thus some doubt about the reading of the fourth word. There are further some points of unclarity in the first three words, where the reading cannot be checked; in particular, the second word does not seem to have been represented accurately, both at its beginning and at its end. The following drawing is thus necessarily conjectural in its first half:—



[5] S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, 9 (London, 1889), 98.
[6] Frye, *The History of Bukhara* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), 35.

Except for the fourth word (which is the name of the man for whom the bowl was made), the reading offers no difficulty:—

ZNH pty'δ čn prδ'rč γypδ 60 *δrym'k*

"This bowl (is) of Parδārč's property. Sixty drams." The name, which might be Fraδārč, is not otherwise known. The word describing the bowl, which resembles a deep saucer, *pty'δ,* was known from Christian Sogdian (*S.T.*, i, 81, 12) where it corresponds to ποτήριον in 1 *Ep. Cor.* 11, 25; F. W. K. Müller recognized its relation to Persian *piyāle* "wine-cup", which was elaborated by M. Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1936, i, 233–4. Regrettably Smirnov did not give the weight of the bowl; we are thus prevented from gaining a determination of the Sogdian weight standard. The inscription is scarcely earlier than the seventh century; according to Smirnov (p. 7a) the bowl belongs "to the last period of Indo-Scythian rule, third to seventh centuries"; it was found in Nižne-Šaxarovka, Gouvernement de Perm, in 1886.

WBH

P. 29

Recently F. W. Altheim, in his *Porphyrios und Empedokles* (Tübingen, 1954), 47, has disputed Henning's reading of the legend on the coins of Bukhara, claiming that the final word is to be read *k'vy* instead of *k'y*. One need not discuss his philological remarks which are unconvincing for he makes a more fundamental error when he equates the final *alif* of the coins with *k'n'* with *-y*. The shape of *y* is clear (cf. p. 27 of *Notes* and p. 110 of *Additional Notes*, 110), and cannot be confused.

The problem is this: there are two legends *pwy'r γwβ k'y* and *pwy'r γwβ k'n'*. Only the last word in the former legend is suspect; *k'n'* is quite clear.

The problem, however, is far from solved, for the explanation of the coins in their historical context can only be made after study of the great number of coins found in excavations in Soviet Central Asia.

I must correct a statement made in my article "Notes on the History of Transoxiana," *HJAS*, 19 (1956), 109, when I said "coins with the reading *k'n'* are the earliest of the series." The *k'n'* coins are *not only* the earliest (coins with debased Pahlavi legend on the upper

left obv.), but *k'n'* also appears on coins with Arabic legends on the obv. It appears on silver as well as alloy coins. It is clear that *k'n'* is the norm and *k'y*, or whatever, the exception. The unique coin with a different legend (Notes, p. 27) indicates that there were exceptions, if they may be so called. The last word on these coins has not been said.
RNF

P. 31

The alloy "Bukharan coins" have been discussed by M. E. Masson in an article "K voprosu o černyx dirxemax Museiyabi", *Trudy Instituta Istorii i Arxeologii, Akad. Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Tashkent, 1955), 175–196. Based on a study of hoards found in Central Asia, Masson concludes that the silver "Bukharan coins" were struck from 12–89 A.H./633–707 A.D., after which they went out of circulation in favor of Islamic coins. The "Bukharan coins" were revived and struck in alloy by Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭā in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Other governors in Transoxiana did the same, hence the popular designation *Ghiṭrīfī*, *Muḥammadī*, and *Musaiyabī*.

Masson discusses the areas of circulation of these three types, and convincingly argues that all three were "Bukharan coins," and not Islamic dirhems, thus confirming my surmise on p. 31 of *Notes*. It is again obvious that access to the coins found in Soviet Central Asia is essential to work in this field.
RNF

P. 32

The further work of Soviet scholars, especially O. I. Smirnova, on the "Sogdian coins," makes necessary a revision of classification of the pre-Islamic coins of Central Asia. The discovery of moulds for the casting of copper coins in the excavations at Panjikent in Tadjikistan indicates a Chinese influence. Cf. O. I. Smirnova, "Pervyi klad Sogdiiskix monet," *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 10 (1955), 9.

The classification of coins mentioned in "Additional Notes I," 110, has been elaborated by Smirnova in an article "Sogdiiskie monety sobraniya numismatičeskogo otdela Ermitaža," *E.V.*, 4 (1951), 3–23. The copper coins are now classified as follows:

1. Chinese coins with a square hole. The earliest coins only have a Chinese legend; later Sogdian is added.
2. Coins with the bust of a ruler on obv. and a square outlined on the rev. These coins are obviously later than the former, showing continuation of the Chinese square hole only in figure on the rev. The legends are cursive Sogdian only.
3. Copper coins of local provenance with the bust of a ruler, or more usually a sign or *tamga* of the ruler, and with or without Sogdian legend.

This classification is further examined in Smirnova's "Materialy k svodnomu katalogu Sogdiiskix money," *E.V.*, 6 (1952), 3–44.

It is clear that both Chinese and Sassanian influences were strong in pre-Islamic or early Islamic Transoxiana. Further, from the persistence of non-Islamic coins, plus other sources, it seems that *mā warāʾ l-nahr*, the other side of the Oxus River, meant non-Islamic territory for the Arabs. Islam was not secure in Transoxiana and the rule of the caliph was not widely accepted until after Hārūn al-Rashīd.

RNF

P. 44

In "Additional Notes I," 113, I mentioned a notice in the *Ta'rīx-e Nīšāpūr*, foll. 65b, on Ghiṭrīf. The text of this section is now published.[7] The translation follows: "In the beginning of Islam the rulers of Transoxiana were three brothers, Muḥammad, Ghiṭrīf, and Musaiyab. All three were from Rīvand. Each one struck many *dīnars* and *dirhems* in that realm, and remains of them are still found." This account, of course, is folk tradition. RNF

P. 49

Persian *pašīz*, older *pišīz*, the equivalent of Arabic *fals*, means, as does *fals*, both "scale of a fish" and "the smallest copper or bronze coin". No doubt "scale" was the original meaning; the word was then used of coins owing to the misunderstanding of φόλλις (Lat. *follis*), which was confused with φολίς, see Georg Hoffmann *apud*

[7] *Farhang-e Irān Zamīn*, 1 (Tehran 1954).

J. Flemming, *Akt. Ephes. Syn.* (= *Abh. G. G. W.*, 1917), p. 174a; in Arabic *fals* both words coalesced, cf. S. Fraenkel, *Aram. LW. im Arab.*, 192. No doubt the coincidence of the two meanings in *fals* and *pašīz* assisted the metaphorical use of terms designating coins for "scale" in Persian, exemplified by *diram-i māhī* "the shilling of the fish" = "scale" in the quotation from the *Tuḥfatu 's-Sa'ādat.*

The further history of *pašīz* is by no means clear. To judge by loanwords in Armenian (*p'šit*, Hübschmann, *Arm. Gram.*, 255), Syriac (*pšīṭā*, *Thes. Syr.* 3321), and Talmudic Aramaic (plural *pšīṭē*, Levy, iv, 148b), the word was *pišīt* originally. Pahlavi *pšyc* = *pišīč*, the ancestor of Persian *pašīz*, can easily be explained as a deminutive of *pišīt*, i.e., *pišīč* from *pišīt-č*. However, an original form *pišīt* does not well agree with the alternative Persian form *pašī* (from *pišī*), since final post-vocalic *-t* is not ordinarily lost in Persian; nevertheless, as a few such cases are known (e.g. *anguže* beside *angužad*, *furū* beside *furūd*), it is permissible to add *pašī* to their number, see Horn, *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, i, 2, 84. Persian *pašī* is attested not merely by the oft-quoted naughty verse of Sūzanī's, but also by the Persian glosses on Khwarezmian sentences and, incidentally, by the Persian loanword *pši*, *əpši* = *fals* in Khwarezmian; in *ZDMG.*, 90 (1936), p. +34+, sentence iii, ايش must be read in the place of ايش.

A precise definition of the value of a *pašīz* is not possible for the present. Of the Sassanian copper coins we know very little, and literary references are few and indecisive. The sequence of words in Ch. xxx of the Farhang-i Pahlavi suggests that either two or three *pašīz* had the value of a *dāng* (obol); the former alternative is rendered more likely by a verse in *Pahlavi Texts*, 113, 12, *xurmā pad dō pišīz kōdakān xrīnēnd* "for a couple of *pašīz* children buy dates". On the other hand, the late Parsi-Persian glossary published by Sachau (*Neue Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Zoroastrischen Litteratur*, 1871), p. 39=841, last line, has

پشيز چهارم حصه از دانک

i.e., *pašīz* = a quarter *dāng* (Sachau wrongly printed *pšbz* instead of *pšyz*). It is precisely the latter definition that we should attribute to the *Tuḥfatu 's-Sa'ādat*, quoted by Dr. Frye, where چهار مرحقّه

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is probably copyist's mistake for چهارم حصّه, the preceding words are presumably *yak pāye dāng* (instead of *pāye-i*) = "a worthless (or low or faked) copper", if we may impute to the author familiarity with so rare a meaning of *pāye*, which is known chiefly by a verse of *Nāṣir-i Khosrau's*:—

> *bal yakī pāye pašīz-ast ke tā yāftamaš*
> *ne hamī dūst paδīrad zi-man-aš ne ʿaduv-am*

(quoted in Dehkhoda's encyclopedia, under *pāye* p. 118, col. 2 top, and under *pašīz*, p. 382, col. 2 below, with slight variations; in the full edition of the Divan, p. 287, 21 the critical words have been replaced by others). As to the verse ascribed to Saʿdi in the *Tuḥfatu 's-Saʿādat*, I have been unable to find it in the editions of Saʿdi's works; it probably means "To give a large amount is not (necessarily) generosity: (to give) a *dāng* out of a drachm or a *pašīz* out of a *dāng*, (that is generosity)".—An unusual definition of *pašīz* is supplied by al-Beruni: the sixtieth part of a drachm (Persian *Tafhīm*, p. 34); the definition of Arm. *pʿšit* by Anania Širakuni is quoted by Huebschmann *loc. cit.* WBH

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NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF TRANSOXIANA

Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 19
June 1956, Nos. 1 and 2.
Harvard-Yenching Institute 1956.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF TRANSOXIANA

τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον ἀγήρων μόνον
Thucydides 2.44.

The following notes all deal with Bukhārā: the first section, with the name itself; the second, with the pre-Islamic rulers of the city-kingdom; and the third, with some additions and corrections to my *History of Bukhara*.

1. The Name "Bukhārā"

The etymology of the name of the famous city in Russian Turkestan as derived from Sanskrit *vihāra* "Buddhist temple," generally accepted though with some reservations, has been challenged recently.[1] A survey of the scholarly work on the subject, and of the historical evidence, is consequently in order.

Wilhelm TOMASCHEK, who seems to have been the first scholar seriously to investigate the matter,[2] wrote:

> Was nun den Namen Pu-ho betrifft, so ist er offenbar auf den Lautcomplex Bukhār (collect. Plur. Bukhārā, Bukhārāï) zurückzuführen; diese Bezeichnung der Hauptstadt ist jedoch nicht die älteste, sondern datiert aus der haiṭalischen Epoche, in welcher der Buddhacultus der herrschende war. Denn es wird

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[1] F. ALTHEIM, *Aus Spätantike und Christentum* (Tübingen, 1951), pp. 111-112:

Der Name Buchārā läszt sich aus dem Iranischen nicht deuten. Er erscheint erstmalig auf der alttürkischen Inscrift des Kültegin als *buqaraq* . . . Der Name *buqaraq* musz also den eines Stammes, analog dem der Tocharer, oder eines Ortes bedeutet haben. Damit ergibt sich die Deutung—eine Deutung aus dem Alttürkischen. *Buqaraq* ist gebildet aus *buqa* „ Stier " mittels der Verstärkungspartikel *-raq*: *räk* wie *bägräk* aus *bäg*. *Buqaraq uluš* ist demnach das „ Reich (Land) des Stiers (der Stiere) . . . Die Bestätigung des Ergebnisses wird wiederum O. Hansen verdankt. Er hat in *buqaraq uluš* das awestische *gāūm yim suγδō. šayanəm* Vend. 1, 4 erkannt. *Gava* war also weder „ Ebene " noch „ Gau ", sondern die Stadt oder das Land war nach dem Stier genannt. Wie mongol. *buqar* und Soghd. *pwγ'r* auf den Münzen zu deuten sei, bleibe dahingestellt. Aber sollte es ein Zufall sein, dasz es in der hellenistischen Sogdiane eine paionische Katoikie, *Μεναπία* gab, die nach dem Wildstier (*μόναπος*) genannt war?

[2] Before him H. VAMBERY, *History of Bokhara* (London, 1873), p. 14, wrote, "We do not know at what date the old Iranian city Djemu-ket received the Turanian name of Bokhara, for Bukhar is even now the Mongolian word for a Buddhistic temple or monastery."

ausdrücklich berichtet (Niqbi den Massud, bei Silvestre de Sacy, Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits, II p. 384): ‚Bukhārā antiquioribus temporibus vocata est (Nū)meǧ-kath; et bukhār lingua idololatrorum Catayae et Uïghuriae significat templum idolorum'; und in der That finden wir auch im Mongolischen, das die buddhistische Terminologie am getreuesten bewahrt hat, die an bukhār sich anschliessende Form buχar kiyit = skr. vihāra čaitya ‚cella eremitica'; das sin. pu-ho ist also eine Variante für pi-ho-lo, skr. vihāra ‚locus secretus, claustrum s. templum buddhisticum'. Die Hayāṭila haben somit dem indischen Worte vihāra dieselbe Form gegeben, wie später die Uïghuren und Mongolen, während sonst dafür auf iranischem Boden die Form behār einzutreten pflegt . . .[3]

This view was accepted by Josef Marquart, who in connection with the Old Turkish inscriptions wrote,[4] " Der spätere Name des Gebietes (Chinese An) war Pu-ho = *Pu-hat, Buchāra, mitteliranisch *Buchārāk = alt-türkisch Buqaraq." In his *Wehrot und Arang*, written in 1907 but published after his death, the same author wrote,[5] " Im Anfang des 7. Jahrhunderts, wenn nicht schon früher, kommt für jene die türkische Bezeichnung *Buqaraq*, np., بخارا *Buchārā*, chin. 捕喝 *Pu-hat* ' die Klosterstadt ' auf." In 1914 Marquart wrote,[6] " *Buqaraq*, arab.-pers. بخارا (zu skr. *vihāra*), **Toqaraq*, arab.-pers. طخارا."

Barthold quoted Tomaschek in his monumental work on Turkestan: [7]

According to Tomaschek the Sanskrit word Vihâra assumed in the Ephthalite empire, as subsequently among the Uighurs and Mongols, the form Bukhār, while among the Iranians in general we meet the form Bahār; as proof he quotes the name of the Nawbahār temple (see p. 79) and some other places in the neighbourhood of Balkh. The existence of a Nawbahār gate in Samarqand and Bukhārā shows that here also, at least at a certain period, the Iranian form was in use.

In his article on " Bukhara " in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1.776, Barthold says: " That the name, as has been suggested, is identical with *bukhār*, the Turkī-Mongol form of the Sanskrit *vihāra*, ' monastery,' is not improbable . . . In any case there was a Buddhist monastery at Bukhārā as at Balkh and Samarkand."

[3] " Centralasiatische Studien I," *SWAW* 87 (Vienna, 1877).167.

[4] J. Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 61.

[5] Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), p. 163, n. 2.

[6] *Über das Volkstum der Komanen* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 96, n. 7.

[7] *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), p. 102, n. 4.

In 1948 the Italian scholar Ugo MONNERET DE VILLARD wrote:[8] "Buḫārā prese poi il suo nome dalla trasforma ne uiğūrica-mongola del termine sanscrito vihāra: e tale riavvicinamento è ancora notato nel XIII secolo da Ğuwainī."

With the publication of the Turfan documents the Sogdian word *βrγ'r* for *vihāra* was found.[9] This changed the situation so much that the Soviet scholars V. A. LIVŠITS, K. V. KAUFMAN and I. M. DYAKONOV wrote in 1954:[10]

Написание pwχ'r свидетеьствует, между прочим, о том, что слово "Бухара," вопреки предположению акад. В. В. Бартольда, не может возводиться к санскритскому vihāra "буддийский монастырь, храм," так как vihāra передавалось бы в согдийском написании с начальным β, срав., например, βp'šy = санскр. vipaçyin.

Считать написание pwχ'r отражением более старой формы слова buχār также нельзя. Китайская передача имени "Бухара" —Бу-хо, Бу-гэ, встречающаяся в китайских источниках лишь с VII в. н. э. (Тан-шу), может отражать звучание этого слова как с начальным b, так и с p; однако в арабских, персидских, тюркских и монгольских источниках, а также в современном таджикском и узбекском произношении это слово всегда выступает с начальным звонким. Переход начального p>b чужд согдийскому языку.

[The orthography *pwχ'r*, *inter alia*, proves that the word "Bukhārā," in spite of the conjecture of the academician V. V. BARTHOLD, cannot be derived from Sanskrit *vihāra* "Buddhist monastery, temple," since *vihāra* would be represented in Sogdian spelling with a beginning *β*; compare, for example *βp'šy* = Skrt. *vipaçyin*.

To consider the writing *pwχ'r* as reflecting a much older form of the word *buxār* is impossible. The Chinese rendering of the name "Bukhārā"—*bu-ho*, *bu-ge*—found in Chinese sources at least from the seventh century A.D.

[8] Ugo MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Il libro della peregrinazione nelle parti d'Oriente di Frate Ricoldo da Montecroce* (Rome, 1948), pp. 52 and 119.

[9] E. BENVENISTE, *Vessantara Jātaka* (Paris, 1946), p. 67, l. 1117. This was recognized as the correct Sogdian form with intrusive *-r-* by W. B. HENNING, "Argi and the Tokharians," *BSOS* 9 (1938).570, and acknowledged by E. BENVENISTE in E. HONIGMANN et A. MARICQ, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (Brussels, 1953), p. 178.

[10] "О древней согдийской письменности Бухары," Вестник Древней Истории ["Regarding the Ancient Sogdian Writing of Bukhara," *Herald of Ancient History*], Vol. 1 (1954), p. 155.

(*T'ang shu*), seems to reflect the pronunciation of this word as beginning with *b* rather than *p*. Nonetheless, in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Mongolian sources, and also in the contemporary Tadžik and Uzbek pronunciation, this word is always found with a sonant in *Anlaut*. The change of initial *p*>*b* is foreign to the Sogdian language.]

This position is not entirely convincing, for one would suppose that the city of Bukhārā (in *West* not *East* Turkestan) was founded after a (Prakrit?) form of *vihāra* with initial *b*- was current (certainly in Iran). See my remarks below. Also, *p*- in Sogdian appears for *b*-. Compare Sogd. *pr'γm* "Brahman," *pwty* "Buddha," etc., so there is no question of *p* > *b*.

They further suggested that the name "Bukhārā" was of Hephthalite origin, and that a study of the pre-Islamic coins of Bukhārā indicated that this name for the city was already known in the middle of the fifth century A. D.[11] Such is the scholarly literature on the subject, apart from the remarks of Professor W. B. HENNING and myself (see note 12).

Let us turn now to the historical evidence. First we have the pre-Islamic coins of Bukhārā with the inscription *pwγ'r γωβ k'n'* "King of Bukhārā Kānā."[12] I must disagree with HENNING's interpretation of this legend as an *early misreading* of the coin legend *pwγ'r γωβ k'y*, since further examination of the coins in the Hermitage Museum and in the collection of the American Numismatic Society clearly reveals that the coins with the reading *k'n'* are the earliest of the series and, if anything, *k'y* is a later development.[13] ALTHEIM's reading of *k'wy* is quite *ausgeschlossen*,[14] and the Soviet scholars are correct in their interpretation.[15]

[11] *Ibid.*, 157. This information was first proposed by W. B. HENNING; see note 12, p. 28.

[12] W. B. HENNING *apud* R. N. FRYE, *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana* (New York, 1949), 29.

[13] I wish to thank A. A. BYKOV, curator of Oriental coins in the Hermitage, who not only allowed me to inspect the coins but kindly made plaster casts of a number of them for me.

[14] *Porphyrios und Empedokles* (Tübingen, 1954), p. 47. I take the occasion to correct two mistakes in this book. On p. 48, l. 3 from bottom, correct *unrichtig* to *richtig* (as I learned in the Hermitage Museum). On p. 54, n. 4, correct *unrichtig* to *richtig*. ALTHEIM's *mann* is much too large a weight; my identification of M' in the *Frahang ī Pahlavik* as מעה is correct.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

The same form *pwγ'r* occurs in the Sogdian *Nāfnāmak* "list of nations," dating from the ninth century A. D. or later.[16] While we cannot assume that the language of pre-Islamic Bukhārā was Sogdian, it is highly probable that it was a dialect of Sogdian, or closely related to it. Middle Persian influences from south of the Oxus River must have been strong in Bukhārā.

The Orkhon Turks recorded the name *bwqrq* in the passage of the Kül Tegin inscription which speaks of the peoples who sent representatives to the Turkish prince's funeral. The passage reads: *quriya kün batsïqdaqï Soγd, Brčkr, Bwqrq ulus budunda Näŋ säŋün oγul tarqan kälti* ("From the Soγd, [A]barčäkär, and Buqaraq peoples, dwelling in the West, the sun's setting, came Näng sängün and oγul tarkhan").[17]

The date of the funeral of Kül Tegin is 731 or 732 A. D., and the historical circumstances must be kept in mind.[18] The first people surely refers to the Sogdians, but not necessarily to those living in Sogdiana proper. The next people can hardly be the Persians as Thomsen and Marquart proposed.[19] Following Paul Pelliot's suggestion that the latter part of the word is to be read *čäkär*<*čäkär*,[20] I suggest the reading *Abar čäkär* or *Apar čäkär*. This suggestion is, of course, not free from difficulties, but seems to me to involve less problems than the identification with "Persians," which presents historical as well as linguistic difficulties.[21]

[16] W. B. Henning, *Sogdica* (London, 1940), p. 9.

[17] Inscription I. N. 12; text in A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1950), 256, and text, transcription and translation in S. E. Malov, Памятники Древнетюркской Письменности [*Monuments of Ancient Turkish Writing*] (Moscow, 1951), pp. 27, 33 and 43.

[18] Marquart, *Die Chronologie, op. cit.*, pp. 54-5. The date of the erection of the inscription was probably later.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 32. This identification was opposed by W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* (Berlin, 1935), p. 39.

[20] P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Paris, 1950), p. 175, n. 1. The equation of *brčkr* = **barčuq-är*, the men of Barčuq (in the northern Tarim basin) made by O. Hansen and F. Altheim in the latter's *Aus Spätantike und Christentum* (Tübingen, 1951), 111, is attractive, but they refer to the Uigur colophon published by F. W. K. Müller, "Toχrï und Kuišan," *SPAW* (Berlin, 1918), p. 580, where *b'rčwq* is written. There are both philological (long *a* and *w*, use of *-är*) as well as historical (the people of Barčuk were speaking a Khotanese-Śaka dialect in 730 A. D., geographical considerations, etc.) objections to this identification.

[21] Cf. W. Barthold, "Die alttürkischen Inschriften und die arabischen Quellen,"

Apar čäkär would then be "Avar-detachments" or "Avar-warriors." The spelling *br* for the Avars may seem unusual, if we remember that the name probably appears earlier in the same Orkhon inscription of Kül Tegin as *pr* = Apar (II E 4),[22] and the same form probably appears in Uigur Turkish.[23] On the other hand, the researches of H. W. HAUSSIG have shown that historically there is no objection to the presence of groups in West Turkestan in the early eighth century A. D. with the name Avar.[24] Philologically the spelling *br* is not improbable, especially if we are dealing here with a segment of "Avars" left in Central Asia after their relatives or namesakes had moved west.[25]

The second element in the name *čäkär* has an uncertain etymology (PELLIOT, *supra*), but it is attested in this period in Arabic.[26] From Chinese sources it would seem that an élite corps

p. 26, in W. RADLOFF, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei* (St. Petersburg, 1899). The Chinese court, however, apparently received missions from the Persians long after the fall of the Sassanian Empire; cf. E. CHAVANNES, "Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux," in his *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turks) occidentaux*, 2nd edition (Paris, n. d.), pp. 37, 42, 45, etc.

[22] A. VON GABAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 249; MALOV, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 29, and 36.

[23] A. VON LE COQ, "Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho. III," *APAW* (Berlin, 1922), p. 32, text Nr. 13, iii. T. II, D. 181, l. 1. I cannot say whether in Turkic *pr-*, in a compound, may alternate with *br-*, but, in any case, I should have thought *br-* more likely than *pr-* for transcribing the name of the Avars.

[24] In "Theophylakts Exkurs über die skythischen Völker," *Byzantion* 23 (Brussels, 1953).330-2, *et passim*. I do not subscribe to all of the author's theories and his attempt (p. 348) to derive the name "Bukhārā" from the Turkish Tölis tribe 僕骨 **b'uok-kuət* = **buqur* (*sic*) is to be rejected. On this Tölis tribe cf. J. R. HAMILTON, *Les Ouïghours* (Paris, 1955), p. 2, no. 7; W. B. HENNING, "Argi and the Tokharians," *BSOS* 9 (1938).555; and H. W. BAILEY, "The Staël-Holstein Miscellany," *Asia Major*, New Series, 2 (1951).18.

[25] K. H. MENGES, *The Oriental Elements in the Vocabulary of the Oldest Russian Epos, The Igor' Tale*, Supplement to *Word* 7 (New York, 1951), pp. 40-41.

[26] Tabarī, II, 1604, referring to the year 110/737, in speaking of Arab military operations in Central Asia, says

وجبغويه الطخارى بملوكهم وشاكريتهم

"And the Ṭokhārī jabγūs with their kings and (military) detachments (servants)." The word is used widely in Arabic, and is probably from Persian *čākar* "servant," Tajiki *čokar*, Ossetic (Iron) *cağar*; cf. V. I. ABAEV, Осетинский Язык и Фольклор I [*Ossetic Language and Folklore I*] (Moscow, 1949), p. 161. Perhaps, it appears in the name θια[γ]αρο[υ] from Tanais on the Black Sea; cf. L. ZGUSTA, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste* (Prague, 1955), p. 193. Cf. also

of warriors existed both at Samarkand and Bukhārā in this period called 柘羯 *tśịa *k'ât* = *čākar*.[27] The etymology of the word is discussed in detail by VLADIMIRTSOV,[28] BARTHOLOMAE,[29] and FREIMAN.[30] Regardless of the etymology, the word is attested for Central Asia in the eighth century A. D. in a suitable context for our proposal. It must be admited, however, that the form *bročkr* is only attested in the Old Turkish inscription of Kül Tegin.

The next word *bwqrq* makes one think of a form such as **buqriq/buqraq*, but all attempts to identify this satisfactorily with بغراج, Bulgar, Baškirt, or any tribe or people in Central Asia or South Russia have failed. The identification with the town of Bukhārā is not free from objections,[31] but *faute de mieux* let us accept it. According to ALTHEIM (note 1) this word is the Old Turkish translation of an Iranian *Gava* and means "land of the bull."[32] There are both historical and philological objections to this. No matter what Avestan *gāūm yim suγdō·šayanəm* (see note 1) may have originally meant, in the 8th century A. D. there was no area in Transoxiana called *Gava*, and certainly not the oasis of Bukhārā.[33] The equation Bukhārā = Gava = Sogdiana is hardly acceptable.[34] What do we know of the name Bukhārā?

the "protubulgarisches Geschlecht (A. IX. Jh.)," Τζακαράρης, in G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantino-turcica* 2 (Budapest, 1943), p. 259, *čākar + är?* For further information on the word cf. A. M. MANDELŠTAM, p. 104 of the article cited below in the third section (correction to page 62).

[27] CHAVANNES, *Documents*, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

[28] B. Y. VLADIMIRTSOV, "Mongolica I," Записки Коллегии Востоковедов [*Notes of the College of Orientalists*], Volume 1 (Leningrad, 1925), pp. 326-8.

[29] C. BARTHOLOMAE, "Über ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Heidelberg, 1910), p. 7.

[30] A. A. FREIMAN, "Существуетъ-ли средneaзiатскiй терминъ въ сасанидскомъ судебникѣ?" ["Did There Exist a Central Asiatic Term in the Sassanian Law Code?"], *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences* (Petrograd, 1918), pp. 311-312.

[31] BARTHOLD, "Die alttürkischen Inschriften," *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 26.

[32] Repeated in his *Ein asiatischer Staat* (Wiesbaden, 1954), p. 277, n. 2, "soghd. *Buxār* < alttürk. **buqar*." And further "Neben alttürk. *buqa-raq* wäre ein **buqar* < **buqa-r* anzusetzen."

[33] The identification of Chinese 呵 *Ho* (γā) with Gava is no longer accepted; cf. H. H. SCHAEDER, "Zwei altiranische Ortsnamen," *ZMDG* 96 (1942) 136-137. Cf. also E. HERZFELD, *Zoroaster and his World*, Vol. 2 (Princeton, 1947), p. 752.

[34] Cf. B. M. MASSON, "К локализации Согда," Труды среднеазиатского Гос. Университета, Вып. XI ["On the Localization of Sogdiana," *Proceedings of the Central Asiatic State University*, Vol. XI] (Tashkent, 1950), pp. 171-177.

The oasis of Bukhārā must have been inhabited from early times, but the earliest record of the name is found in Chinese sources. In the *Chiu T'ang shu* the name appears as 捕喝 **b'uo χât* (KARLGREN) or 布豁 **puo χuât*.[35] For the last character there may be substituted the character 韡 **γwa*.[36] Hsüan Tsang, who travelled in Central Asia ca. 630. A. D., has the same **puo χuât*,[37] which corresponds well to the *pwγ'r* of the Bukhārān coins (note 12), or the *pwγ'r* of the Sogdian list of names (note 16). According to the Chinese sources this name does not appear before the seventh century A. D., for the same territory was then called 安 *ân*.[38] This is not the place to discuss the pre-Islamic history of Bukhārā, which I hope to do elsewhere. Suffice it to say that the word does not definitely appear in history before the seventh century A. D.[39]

ALTHEIM would have it that Turks settled in the oasis and founded a city which they called "place of the bull," after Iranian *gava/gav* "cow," and the Turkish name persisted so that the city became known as Bukhārā. This is an improbable assumption though not impossible, since we know that Turkish speakers were in Transoxiana at this time, and a Turkish runic document was found with the Sogdian, Chinese fragments from Mt. Mugh.[40] ALTHEIM's assumption of a Turkish ending *-raq* is

[35] J. J. M. DE GROOT, *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens*, 2 (Berlin, 1926), 107, and CHAVANNES, *Documents, op. cit.*, p. 136.

[36] R. GROUSSET, *Histoire de l'Extreme-Orient* (Paris, 1929), p. 421, where later forms of the name are given.

[37] T. WATTERS, *On Yuang Chwang's Travels in India* 1 (London, 1904), p. 98.

[38] DE GROOT, *loc. cit.*, CHAVANNES, *Documents, loc. cit.*; for furth[er re]ferences cf. W. EBERHARD, "Orta ve Garbi Asya halklarinin medeniyeti." *Türkiya[t] Mecmuasī* 7-8 (Istanbul, 1940-1942).146.

[39] HENNING (*supra*, note 12, p. 28), on palaeographic grounds, says that the Bukhārān coins were first issued in the 5th century A. D. It is difficult to reconcile this with the Chinese sources and the information of Naršaχī; cf. my *The History of Bukhara* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 35. The persistence of archaic palaeography for inscriptions and coin legends would account for a *later use* of an early alphabet on coins. The argument is not whether in fact the Bukhārān alphabet was used in the 5th century A. D., which is highly probable, but whether it was used on coins with the name *pwγ'r* at that time. HENNING's thesis, however, would be a support to my contentions below.

[40] A. N. BERNŠTAM, "Древнетюркский документ из Согда," Эпиграфика Востока ["An Ancient Turkish Document from Sogdiana," *Epigraphy of the Orient*] Vol. 5 (Leningrad, 1951), pp. 65-75

less convincing, for a "*Verstärkungs-Partikel*" added to *buqa*, to make "more bull" is unacceptable.[41] ALTHEIM himself realized the difficulty and proposed an *-r* suffix (note 32), presumably the "*Direktiv-Endung*," or place-ending of A. VON GABAIN.[42] Not being a Turkologist as is ALTHEIM, I shall merely observe that it is simpler to derive the Old Turkish *bwqrq* from the attested *pwγ'r* plus suffix *-yk*, as the name of the people of Bukhārā.[43] That this ending *-yk* is represented in Old Turkish as *-q*, without *-y-* is attested in the form *swγdq* in the inscription of Kül Tegin (I E 31 and I E 39) and in the inscription of Tonyukuk (line 46).[44] The corresponding Sogdian form is *sγwδyk/swγδyk*.[45]

This brings us to the word Bukhārā itself, for which I propose another solution (see below). Etymologies of place names are difficult, but I agree in part with Professor Peter BOODBERG when he writes:[46]

> A primary ethnic name has no etymology . . . In case of an ethnic name of considerable antiquity, we shall probably never be able to tell what particular significance such a name originally had, as it is quite probable that the majority of them originated in what one may describe as a henopoetical stage of linguistic development, and the means of research at our disposal can hardly enable us to penetrate beyond the veil of so-called 'popular etymology.' But for the historian and student of social institutions, after all, to know what people thought a name meant is much more important than to discover what its real significance had been once upon a time.

This also, though perhaps less so, is true of place names. What did authors in Islamic times say of Bukhārā?

Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥauqal say that the people of Bukhārā in

[41] E. FRANKLE, *Word Formation in the Turkic Languages* (New York, 1948), p. 85. Nor can it be a diminutive as in Osmanli, cf. J. DENY, *Grammaire de la langue turque* (Paris, 1921), p. 324.

[42] *Alttürkische Grammatik* (note 17), p. 90.

[43] I. GERSHEVITCH, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (Oxford, 1954), p. 151, para. 996.

[44] MALOV, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25, 60.

[45] A. FRIEMAN, Согдийский Сборник [*Sogdian Essays*] (Leningrad, 1934), p. 40. The Sogdian ending *-'k*, pronounced as *-e* (cf. W. B. HENNING in *BSOS*, 9 (1938), p. 550, *supra*, note 24) does not apply here.

[46] P. A. BOODBERG, "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties," *HJAS* 3 (1938).238-9.

ancient times came from Iṣṭakhr in Fars province.[47] Muqaddasī/Maqdisī says that the origin of the name "Bukhārā" is "mountain of the East," (کوه خوران) and he gives a poem about the change of letters to make the name.[48] The earliest reference to the name "Bukhārā" signifying a "place of knowledge," or referring to learning, I believe, is in Yāqūt (*op. cit.*, p. 517) which is earlier than the well-known passage in Juvainī which in effect derives the name "Bukhārā" from Sanskrit *vihāra*.[49] This information is incorporated in the later Persian dictionaries, such as the *Burhān-e qāṭiʿ*, which says, that "the word is derived from *buxār* which means 'much knowledge.' Since there were many scholars and distinguished people in that city, so it was given this name."[50]

Has this information any validity? We know that the Sogdian word for *vihāra* is *βrγ'r*, pron. *farxār*, and there are several towns in Central Asia so called.[51] In New Persian we have *behār*, but both forms were known in Islamic times.[52] More than this, it would seem that both forms were used in Bukhārā, though probably not at the same time or with quite the same meaning.[53] Historically then the derivation of Bukhārā from *vihāra* is possible, especially since one could well imagine a city growing around a *vihāra* which existed on the site. But the linguistic side is not so promising.

[47] Iṣṭakhrī, edited by M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1927), p. 315. Ibn Ḥauqal, ed. by J. H. Kramers (Leiden, 1939), p. 491.

[48] Edited by M. J. de Goeje (Leiden 1906), p. 332. The same poem, with variations, is found in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 1 (Leipzig, 1866), p. 519; in the *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. P. De Jong (Leiden, 1867), p. 125; and in the *Yatīmat al-dahr* of Thaʿālibī, Vol. 4, (Damascus, 1886), p. 9.

[49] *History of Bukhara*, p. 120, n. 103.

[50] *Burhān-e qāṭiʿ*, ed. M. Moʿīn, 1 (Tehran, 1952), 238. Verses were composed with this in mind; cf. *Farhang-e rashīdī* and other dictionaries, conveniently summarized in the *Aṣaf al-lughāt*, 9 (Hyderabad 1334/1915), 6041.

[51] Cf. E. Benveniste in *Bulletin de la Société linguistique* 28 (Paris, 1928) .7.

[52] Bīrūnī, *Athār al-bāqīya*, ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1923), p. 206, knows that *behār* and *farχār* are synonymous. Al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten (Leiden, 1895), p. 123, says that *al-buhār* is the idol temple of India and *al-farχār* is the idol-temple of China and "upper Sughd" (*al-Suγd al-ʿulyā*). There is not space here to discuss the later appearance of *farχār* in poetry.

[53] One may assume that *farχār* was used, but we also have the *nau behār* gate (Barthold, *Turkestan*, *op. cit.*, p. 102). They may have been used together at the same time.

One problem is Sanskrit *vihāra* > **βəχār* > *buxār* and also > Sogdian *farχār*. (The graphic *-w-* in Sogdian *pwγ'r* and Old Turkish *bwqrq* does not represent a long vowel).[54] Further investigation of *vihāra* in Central Asia is necessary. The word seems to have been borrowed directly from Sanskrit into Khotanese Śaka *vyahāra*,[55] and by the Middle Indian dialect (?) of Khotan.[56] Sogdian, however, has *γ* (= *χ*) which normally represents Indian *h*, and with intrusive *-r-*.[57] The Sogdian form was borrowed by the Uigur Turks, and we find *vrχ'r* and *vχ'r*.[58] The word does not seem to appear in Tibetan, which always translates *vihāra* into Tibetan *lha gan*.[59] The Chinese, of course, would go to the source, and we find 毗訶羅 *b'ji γə̂u lâ*, for *vihāra*.[60] The Mongols, however, probably borrowed from the Uigurs, for we find the form *buqar* representing **buxār*. There is a considerable literature on this, and the relations of Old Turkish *buqaraq* with *buqar* < *vihāra* have been discussed at length by VLADIMIRTSOV.[61]

If the form of *vihāra* which came to the Mongols via Sogdian and Uigur was *buqar*, could the Orkhon Turks have received the same earlier? One should remember that the form of the name "Bukhārā" in the Orkhon Inscriptions is supposedly *buqar*, plus a *-k* suffix, where the vowel *a* would not be written. On the

[54] Cf. GERSHEVITCH, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 17.

[55] H. W. BAILEY, "Kanaiska," *JRAS*, 1942, p. 20.

[56] H. W. BAILEY, "The Khotan Dharmapada," *BSOAS* 11 (1945).492, 28 and 29.

[57] H. W. BAILEY, "Gāndhārī," *BSOAS* 11 (1946).791, and Henning's remarks on the intrusive *-r-* in *BSOS* 9 (1939).570.

[58] F. W. K. MÜLLER, "Uigurica II," *Abhandlungen der Preusz. Akad. der Wiss.* (Berlin, 1911), pp. 73 and 77; also his "Zwei Pfahlinschriften aus den Turfanfunden," *APAW* (Berlin, 1915), p. 38.

[59] For this information I am indebted to Dr. Kenneth CH'EN.

[60] R. GROUSSET, *Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient*, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[61] The word may be found in J. KOWALEWSKI, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français* (Kazan, 1844-49), pp. 1159 and 1846, and in L. LIGETI, *Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol Imprimé* (Budapest, 1942), pp. 2, 22, 318. For the discussions by B. Ya. VLADIMIRTSOV, cf. his "Турецкіе элементы въ монгольскомъ Языкѣ" ["Turkish Elements in the Mongolian Language"], *ZVOIRAO*, 20 (St. Petersburg, 1910), 164; his "Географические имена орхонских надписей, сохранившиеся в монгольском," Доклады Акад. Наук ["Geographical Names of the Orkhon Inscriptions Preserved in Mongolian," *Reports of the Academy of Sciences*], Vol. 5 (Leningrad, 1929), item no. 4, p. 171: and his "Mongolica I" (see note 28 above), p. 333.

Persian side the form *bihār-behār* is attested.[62] Can we reconcile the various forms of *vihāra*: Sogdian *βrγ'r*, Uigur *viχār*, Mongolian *buqar*, and Persian *behār*, with the name of the city?

Let us recall the various forms of the city name. In Bukhārān and Sogdian we have *pwγ'r*, several Chinese forms possibly representing **buχu̯ār*,[63] probably Orkhon Turkish *bwqrq*, and New Persian *buχārā*. It is probable that the forms in final *-ā* and final *-q* (= *k*) are derived forms since we have also بخاری in New Persian, بخارخدات in Naršaχī, and other Islamic authors, and possibly بهار in the *Shāh Nāme*.[64] Also in Mongolian one finds the form *buqar* = *buxār*, surely as good an identification for our city as Old Turkish *bwqrq*.[65]

If, for the moment, we ignore the *-a* and *-k* suffixes, then we can postulate a borrowing by the people of the Bukhārā oasis from a Prakrit form of *vihāra*, such as **βəhār*, without intrusive Sogdian *-r-*.[66] The initial change of *vi-* to *bu-* would present no problem, even if we did not assume a Prakrit intermediary.[67]

The problem is the suffix *-ā* in New Persian, *-k* in Old Turkish—which may be solved in two ways. Either the Persians and Turks added these suffixes in consonance with their own languages, or they heard a *variant form* of the word in the language of Bukhārā, or in Prakrit (or Sanskrit), if this be the origin of the word. The first alternative does not seem promising since any attempt to explain the New Persian *-ā* as an *alif-e vaṣfiyyat* or the like, is entirely unconvincing.[68] One might propose the existence of a final

[62] In Bīrūnī's *India*, ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1886), p. 207, and elsewhere.

[63] Cf. W. B. Henning, "Argi and the 'Tokharians'," *BSOS* 9 (1938) .549.

[64] The Beroukhim edition of Vullers, 3 (Tehran, 1934), p. 625, verse 1833 of the story of Siyāvuš.

[65] E. Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* (Leipzig, 1941), p. 137, par. 263.

[66] We could construct the following hypothesis:

vihāra > { **βəχār* > Sogd. *βrγ'r* > Uigur *vrχ'r viχār*.
**βəχār* > Bukhārān *pwγ'r* > Mongolian *buqar*. }

[67] Compare the change Windāt > Bundāt in F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), p. 369. Changes of *va* > *bu* are common from Old Persian to New Persian. The replacement of *bi-* by *bu-* is discussed by H. W. Bailey in the *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo of Kyoto University* (Kyoto, 1954), 10. (Note N. P. *bahār* "spring" is *bohōr* in Yazdī and in Parachi, *woṛai* in Pašto).

[68] D. C. Phillott, *Higher Persian Grammar* (Calcutta, 1919). 418.

-*y*, from an ethnica in -*īk*, which the Arabs took as an *alif maqṣūra* for -*ā*, but this too is not satisfactory. An Old Turkish suffix -*q* (-*k*) in diminutives, or other possibilities, does not help us. The second alternative seems more fruitful.

First, with Sogdian (or Bukhārān) can we postulate an alternative form of the name of the city as **pwγ'r'k* with -*āk*, (or -*āq*) ending? It would probably be -*āk* rather than -*ak* = -*e*.[69] Compare the place names Samarqandāq and Nuchārā from Andīchārāgh.[70] Another parallel is Sughdāq and Sughd, the former a settlement of Sogdians in Semirechie.[71] From an -*āk* form one could explain both Old Turkish and New Persian forms.[72] Again we might propose a Sogdian ethnica in -*yk*, with the -*ā* in N. P. explained as an *alif-e maqṣūra* (above) and the Turkish then to be read as *buqariq*. Compare, for example, the form in Bīrūnī, *Athār*, p. 69, *bχārtk*, to be read *Bukhārīk?* But this presents other problems.

Second, we might look to Sanskrit (and Prakrit) for a solution. Briefly stated, we need a suffix added to *vihāra* which would make sense and give an Old Turkish -*k* ending and a New Persian -*ā* ending. One would think at once of an -*aka* ending, and the possibility arises of *vihāra* + *ak* (*a*) > **vihāraka* > **vihārāk* (O. T.) > **vihārā* (N. P.), meaning a specific *vihāra*, the suffix having this specifying sense (?).[73] There are problems here too, since this would imply an Indian colony at Bukhārā, or at least a use of a Prakrit there. There is, of course, the name Bihar itself in India, if that is really from *vihāra*. It seems to me that the Indian grammarians are capable of proving almost anything, and one should not be too eager to accept their explanations.

In short, I find it conceivable that the name "Bukhārā" may be derived ultimately from Skrt. *vihāra*. One should not ignore, however, the possibility that *buχu̯ār*~*buχar* is the name of a

[69] Cf. GERSHEVITCH, *op. cit.*, 147-150, for both -*ak*, and -*āk* suffixes.

[70] V. MINORSKY, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (London, 1937), 369, 119, 360.

[71] Maḥmūd al-Kāshgarī, *Kitāb Dīvān al-lughāt al-Turk*, 1 (Istanbul, 1914), 391.

[72] We may have here the -*āk* ending alternating with nought, as Sogd. *cšnd'k* 'drink,' beside Chr. *cšnt*, which suffix would give -*ā* in N. P. Cf. I. GERSHEVITCH, *op. cit.*, p. 150, para. 993.

[73] I am indebted to Professor P. THIEME of Yale for the suggestion and reference to O. BÖHTLINGK, *Pâṇini's Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1887), p. 259.

people or tribe,[74] with a possible parallel of *buχār, pwγ'r'k,* بخارا, and *tuχār, 'tγw'r'k,* طخارا.[75] In any case, ALTHEIM's Turkish "bull" is improbable.

2. The pre-Islamic rulers of Bukhārā

The numismatist Allotte DE LA FUYE was the first scholar to make a chronology of the pre-Islamic rulers of Bukhārā.[76] His only sources were the coins of Bukhārā and the history of Naršaχī, so that the result is incomplete and uncertain. From Chinese sources, and other Arabic and Persian historians, one may have a more complete list of the rulers, while inscriptions on bowls also help us. No attempt is made to elaborate the early Islamic history of Bukhārā as O. PRITSAK intends to do.

The earliest sources we have are, presumably, the coins and inscriptions in the Bukhārān alphabet on silver vessels. The existence of a ruler of Bukhārā called Kānā seems assured from the *earliest* coins from this area.[77] Whether he ruled at the beginning of the seventh century A. D. as Naršaχī claims, is difficult to prove.

On a silver vessel in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad is the inscription *pwγ'r γwβ δzwy* "King of Bukhārā δzwy," which name cannot be identified.[78] Whether this represents a *Koseform dizōi,* as in Persian, is conjectural.[79]

Another silver vessel with an inscription on the rim in Buk-

[74] Not, however, as HAUSSIG (note 24) suggests. A reference to MARQUART's book, which he mentions, is enough to show his error.

[75] Cf. HENNING (note 63).

[76] Cf. his "Imitations de la drachme de Varahran V frappée à Merv," *Numismatic Chronicle* 7 (1927) .182-3.

[77] If plate 28 in J. WALKER, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum, Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London, 1941), were not sufficient to show that the coins with the reading *k'n'* are the earliest in the series, plate 1 of the article of Livšits *et al* (note 10) and several casts from the Hermitage Museum which I have clearly indicate this fact. MARKWART's identification of him with Ka-na Šad, a younger brother of the west Turkish Khan in *Wehrot und Arang,* 151, is attractive but cannot be proved.

[78] Cf. my "Additional Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 4 (New York, 1950), p. 110.

[79] Cf. T. NÖLDEKE, "Persische Studien," *SWAW* (Vienna, 1888), p. 403.

hārān characters seems to indicate that the alphabet was not limited to the environs of the city. I had read the inscription provisionally as *hnsyk γwβ čr'k γwδw* 265 *dm ptγwδ*, "·*an siạk* (Chinese 安息) king *čirāk* measure of 265 *draxm* vessel." [80] Afterwards, I found a Russian article in which the reading was: *MN s/tzk γwβ šr'k snk* 265 *rm ptxwr* "Of (the possessions)? of king Širak, weight—265. Always eat (well)." [81] I cannot accept the reading of the first word as two, for it must be a proper noun. The word *snk*, ignoring the fourth sign, is also unsatisfactory. In view of the apparent use of the sign *l* for δ in the previous inscription mentioned above, and in another below, I would be inclined to retract my reading of δ for *r* since *ptγwr* (using γ for *x*) can also mean a dish or vessel, and here one would expect a substantive rather than a verb. (Compare MP *patašxvar*, and *patīxvar* in the *Glossary of the Pahlavi Vendidad* by D. P. Kapadia [Bombay, 1953], p. 498). I cannot accept *rm* "always," but consider it an abbreviation for *draxm* though I have found no evidence for these two characters used as such.

I have come to the conclusion that the characters *l* and δ are *both* used for the sound δ (as well as other sounds for each character) in Bukhārān. Since we have three different signs for *d*, δ, and *l* in Manichaean Sogdian, a confusion in Bukhārān would be understandable. Therefore I shall retain my first reading of the inscription until a better one is found.

In any case, the name seems clear, and *čr'k* must be a ruler of the

[80] The first word is puzzling. I had at first thought of *xwsnk*, but no place name near the Zarafshan River fitted, and ·*ân siək*, with a guttural (?) at the beginning (the name of the Bukhārā region under the Han dynasty; cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou Kiue Occidentaux*, p. 136, n. 7) is a reading of desperation. One would expect: name of country—king—name of king—his own (Sogdian *γypδ* = MP *χvēš* does not fit here)—weight in *draxm*—vessel. For the fourth word, perhaps a form **γwδw*; Chr. Sogd. *xwdy* "self", in the sense of "his own", may make more sense. Here I took *γwδw* as a dry measure; cf. W. B. Henning, "The Murder of the Magi," *JRAS* (1944), p. 143, and his *Sogdica* (London, 1940), p. 33. If this is a measure rather than "vessel," then the last word *ptγwδ* may be the name of the vessel, i.e., one with a small neck, hence in a sense "covered." The Sogdian word *ptγwδ* is translated by E. Benveniste as "*operture*" in his *Textes Sogdiens* (Paris, 1940), Text 7, line 90, p. 97. Compare the list in Henning, *Sogdica*, p. 33, (11a) *βγwδ*, followed by (11b), *'šfrz* "a tall wine cup?"

[81] Cf. note 10, 160-1.

Bukhārān oasis or some part of it. On one of the fragments of the rim of a silver vessel from Munčak-Tepe the Soviet scholars read *γwβw ptr'k* "heir of the king." Again, one would expect here the name of the ruler, but I am not sure we have the title and a name in this inscription. The reading is unclear, but on another fragment appears the word *δrγmy* with *l* for δ as in Sogdian.[82] Obviously we have a number of rulers who ruled in the oasis of Bukhārā, or at any event used the alphabet of Bukhārā. Thus, from the non-literary sources we have four rulers: Kānā, Čirāk,[83] *δzwy* (?), and the ruler of the Munčak-Tepe fragment, if a ruler is required.

To turn to the Arabic and Persian sources we find conflicting data difficult to verify, especially before the conquests of Qutaiba b. Muslim at the beginning of the 8th century A. D. Presumably the earliest ruler in the oasis of Bukhārā is the Abrūī of Naršaχī.[84] Markwart, following an alternate reading in several manuscripts, read Abarzī, and identified him with the last king of the Hephthalites *Warz*, conquered by the Turks.[85] He further asserts that it was really not a personal name but rather the native name for the Hephthalites, *War-iz*, meaning "aus dem Stamme *Avar*, *Var'*."[86] H. W. Haussig recently returned to the first form and read *Abarōï* "man of the Avars," with Iranian *-ōï* ending.[87] S. P. Tolstov, accepting Markwart's identification, discussed in detail the problem of the fall of the Hephthalites and the rise of the Western Turks.[88] It may seem odd that a king would have the same name as his people. May this not be simply a New Persian

[82] *Ibid.*, plate 5 and p. 161.

[83] In the time of the Sui dynasty (589-617 A. D.) the ruler of Bukhara (An) was a certain 設力登 *śiät lịək təng*. Cf. N. Ya. Bičurin, Собрание Сведений О Народах, обитавших в Средней Азии [*Collection of Information About the Peoples Living in Central Asia*], vol. 2 (Moscow, 1950), p. 282, and A. Pfizmaier, "Die fremdländischen Reiche zu den Zeiten der Sui," *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad. der Wiss.* 97 (Vienna, 1881).461.

[84] *The History of Bukhara*, p. 105.

[85] *Ērānšahr* (Göttingen, 1901), p. 308.

[86] *Wehrot und Arang*, p. 147, and "Die Entstehung der armenischen Bistümer," *Orientalia Christiana* 27 (1932).204.

[87] Note 24 for reference, 329.

[88] S. P. Tolstov, Древний Хорезм [*Ancient Khorezm*] (Moscow, 1948), pp. 248-256.

Umschreibung of the noun *abrōī* " glorious, chief " ? Presumably Abarōï/Abarzī is not in any case a figment of the imagination, but his identification with the last king of the Hephthalites must remain a conjecture.

The same is true of Barmūδa b. Šāba or Parmūδa and Sāva in the Romance of Bahrām Čōbīn which appears in many Persian and Arabic sources.[89] Parmūδa was besieged by Bahrām in Paikand in the Bukhārā oasis. Markwart identifies him with a Kushān king, Pariowk in the Armenian history of Sebēos.[90]

Another ruler, who is semi-legendary, is Mākh, mentioned by Naršaχī and by other Islamic authors.[91] The name is not unusual, but I have been unable to find any information about him.

With this we come to the rulers of Islamic times, Bīdūn/Bndūn, Vardān Khudāh, Khātūn, Tughšāda, and his successors, a matter which is not our concern here.

3. Addenda et Corrigenda to *The History of Bukhara*[92]

The Arabic verse on the reverse of the page containing the table of contents is to be found with variants in Tha'ālibī, *Laṭa'if al-ma'ārif* (see p. 166), 126, and in another Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr* (*ibid.*), vol. 4, 9.

Page 4: Read 'Abdallāh ibn Mubārak.

Page 5: Hasan b. 'Uthmān Hamadānī may be the Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan Hamadānī (d. 1004 or 1005 A. D.) whose grave was mentioned by the author of the *Kitāb-e Mullāzāde*.[93]

Page 62: In line 10 *čākar* " servants " should rather be translated " followers " in the sense of court nobles or perhaps feudal lords. Cf. A. M. Mandelštam, " К вопросу о значении термина чакир," Известия отделеня общественных Наук, Акад. Наук Таджикской ССР [" On the Question of the Meaning of the Term

[89] Cf. *Ērānšahr*, p. 83. F. Altheim, *Ein Asiatischer Staat* (Wiesbaden, 1954), p. 278, proposes that Parmūδa is a misreading of Pahlavi **farmāndāk*, the Iranian name of the Turkish Hephthalite ruler Yiltägin.

[90] *Ērānšahr*, pp. 83-84.

[91] *History of Bukhara*, p. 120, notes 101-2.

[92] Pages refer to those of my book, ***The History of Bukhara*** (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1954).

[93] This is found on p. 66 of the edition of Narshakhī printed in New Bukhārā, 1904.

čakir," *Memoirs of the Section of General Sciences, Academy of Sciences of the Tadžik SSR*], Vol. 5 (Stalinabad, 1954), pp. 103-108.

Page 65: The "hanged" in line 16 is *bi dār kardand*, MP "crucified." Although this is used later for "hanged," here "crucified" is preferable.

Page 109: Ṭughšāda's name is discussed by O. I. Smirnova, "К имени согдийского ихшида Тукаспадака," Труды Акад. Наук Таджикской ССР [" On the Name of the Sogdian *iχšid* Tukaspadak," *Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of the Tadžik SSR*], Vol. 17 (Stalinabad, 1953), p. 209, without, however, an etymology proposed.

Page 118: The etymology of Baikand by Eilers has the most to commend it, especially since Naršaχī speaks of the town as the residence of rulers.

Page 120: Regarding Numijkath as the "ninth town," W. Eberhard writes to me, "In Chinese texts the name 昭武九姓 *chao wu chiu hsing* 'the nine clans of the Chao-wu group' is found for this same area. Cf. *T'oung Pao*, 41 (1952), 320, and *Byzantion*, 23 (1953), 334, note."

Page 128: On Ghūrak compare Buddhist Sogdian *γwr'k* "hochmütig," and other forms in W. B. Henning, "Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch," *APAW* 1936 (Berlin, 1937), 63, paragraph 521.

Page 139: In the *Kitāb-e Mullāzāde* (Bukhārā, 1904), 8, Abū Ḥafṣ is said to have been born 150/767. There he is called Abū Ḥafiḍ.

Page 140: The genealogy of the Samanids is discussed in detail by A. A. Semenov, "К вопросу о происхождении Саманидов," Труды Акад. Наук Таджикской ССР [" On the Question of the Origin of the Samanids," *Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of the Tadžik SSR*], Vol. 27 (Stalinabad, 1954), pp. 3-11. He shows that they came originally from a town near Termez and their descendants continued to live in the šāhr-e Sāmān until recent times.

Page 147: On the "white Raiments," cf. the remarks of Baghdādī in I. Friedlaender, "The Heterodoxies of the Shiites," *JAOS*

29 (1908) .120. W. EBERHARD writes to me: " In Tun-huang documents of the ninth century A. D. (and later?) some unexplained references occur, such as the 'white-clothed king of the golden mountain.' " Cf. *Tun-huang shih-shih i-shu* 敦煌石室遺書 2.28b.

Among the misprints the following may be noted: p. 104, ll. 6-7: Yāqūt, 'Isā; p. 110, l. 38, *αὐτοκράτωρ*; p. 114, n. 65, Ṭughrul; 120, note 104, *βrγ'r*; p. 121, n. 109, *pwγ'r*; p. 126, top, omit the sentence on *γ'γs'č*; p. 129, n. 156, the reference to " Remarks on Central Asian History," should be changed to " Further Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana," to be published by the American Numismatic Society; p. 131, l. 2, read Shāh-i Zinda; p. 134, n. 179, read " *baγpūr* or *faγfūr* in Arabic and Persian sources; " p. 163, read 'Aufī, *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*; p. 164, Kāshgharī, read " *dīvān al-lughāt* "; p. 165, under Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb murūj*, read " 9 vols."; p. 166 read under Yāqūt, " *mu'jam.*"

In the review of my *History of Bukhara* by A. J. ARBERRY in *BSOAS*, 17 (1955) .605, there are several criticisms which may lead to misconceptions. I cannot claim to the experience and knowledge of Professor ARBERRY, well known as a prodigious translator in the great tradition of Edward FITZGERALD, but in most of his remarks he has misunderstood or misconstrued what I wrote.

Page 3: " The amīr Ḥamīd ": If Professor ARBERRY had read my book carefully he would have seen that I am perfectly aware that Ḥamīd is not a personal name but a *laqab* of Amīr Nūḥ (p. 158, n. 351). I plead guilty to over-literalness or inconsistency (see below), but not to ignorance of this.

Page 4: " Burhān al-Milla ": I should not have translated this well-known title of the *Ṣadrs* of Bukhara. Anyone who translates solely from a dictionary knows Arabic *burhān* " proof," but one should not deny " poetic license " to others yet indulge in it freely in one's own translations.

Page 4: " two worlds ": ARBERRY's plural is one interpretation; my dual is another, because: (1) it is so marked in the AOS and Sülemaniye *MSS*; (2) it goes with the following *al-ḥaramain* in my interpretation; (3) there are parallels in other texts.

Page 4: "al-Ḥamīd": Same as page 3 above. I wonder how ARBERRY would translate *Ṣadr-e aʿẓam?*

Page 4: "ʿAbdallāh ibn Mubārak": This is the only correction of ARBERRY which I accept. It was an inexcusable slip on my part, for the Sülemaniye *MS* (no. 3), folio 2a, and one of the *MSS* in Tashkent (no. 19), both have "*ibn.*" I am quite aware of MP and early NP usage for "son" but I did not identify the gentleman.

Page 4: "Makhlad": The reference given by ARBERRY is *not* to our M. b. ʿUmar. Whether his name is to be read Makhlad or otherwise remains uncertain. ARBERRY, I take it, does not assert that his is the only possible reading.

Page 39: "he brandished his weapon and drew his sword": This is dictionary translation, but mine is also in need of correction. Read rather, "he armed himself and drew his sword and sat down."

Page 39: In the first proofs I had the same translation as ARBERRY, which is what even the elementary student of Persian would propose. A learned Persian friend pointed out that (1) this book is translated from the Arabic and (2) a play on words is indicated. Furthermore and decisive, the AOS *MS* has *ēn ast* for *ārāst,* while the Sülemaniye *MS* has *ārāste.* The reading is *ghulām īzad* = ʿAbdallāh, *without* izafet, not *with* as ARBERRY assumed I intended.

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KUSHANS AND OTHER IRANIANS IN CENTRAL ASIA

Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, Yayınları: 19 Seri: I - Sayı: A 2, Ankara 1966.

KUSHANS AND OTHER IRANIANS IN CENTRAL ASIA

The untimely death of my friend Rahmeti Arat left me with no chance to prepare an extensive study appropriate to his scholarly stature. Instead, I hope the few notes below will express my high regard for his work and stimulate discussion, which is the essence and joy of scholarly endeavor. Such a memory of talks with Rahmeti Arat, during a summer vacation near Bursa years ago, is the impetus for the general discussion of the role of Iranians in Central Asia.

The division of the Iranian world into at least two great cultural areas of eastern and western Iran, separated by the two great deserts of the plateau, should be kept in mind as an overall principle in the history of this part of the word. Much has been written about this division and no more need be said about it here. Eastern Iran may be furhter subdivided, at least for the pre-Islamic period, into two geographical sections with different, dominant cultural influences. The eastern I would term Indo-Bactrian, with an axis from Ferghana through Kabul to India. Here Indian influence is strong. The western I tentatively call the Saka-Bukharan, with its axis from Bukhara through Herat to India. Here Iranian influence, is strong. Anyone who has travelled in Central Asia and Afghanistan in recent years will recognize this division, not only in the dialects of Persian spoken, but also in the different cultural influences on each. The reasons for this division are not only geographical, but also economic, because of trade routes, and most important of all, in my opinion, the historical traditions which made Merv, Herat and Qandahar the outpost of the Parthian and Sasanian empires. The oases of Merv and Balkh were always great centers of exchange and mixture, the two places where east and west mingled the most[1]. These two cities also represented forks in a number of roads, leading west to Mesopotamia or south to India. The great east-west road across Asia, the so-called "Silk Road", beween Mesopotamia and China, is well known. The great north-south road from the Volga to India is less well known, but the two intersected at Merv, or with branches,

1 In excavations at Merv in early Islamic layers, ostraca with inscriptions in Arabic, Sogdian Parthian, Kushan-Bactrian and Pahlavi have been found, indicating the mixture of peoples in the oasis at that time.

at Balkh[2]. Small wonder that these two cities were so important in history. The road to India from Merv went south to Herat and then to Qandahar and India, or one could go east to Balkh and over the mountains to Kabul and then to India. Trade routes ever have been thoroughfares of religion and culture as well as of trade.

Merv was the northeast frontier outpost of both the Parthian and the Sasanian states. The boundary of Persian control under the Sasanids extended from Merv to Merv al-Rūd and then to Herat. Beyond was non-Sasanian land, even though at times the Sasanians occupied territory to the east of the line. It is now much clearer than a decade ago that the Kushans represented the dominant cultural influence east of the line, even under the Hephtalites and later the Turks. One may now, in my opinion, speak of the Kushan-Bactrian sphere of influence as distinct from the Sasanian in Central Asia. It is probable that Kanishka was the greatest figure in the spread of Kushan influence from Mathura in India through Balkh and beyond to Kashgar in Central Asia. In his reign the Kushan coins change from Greek to Kushan-Bactrian legends, an indication of his reforming role in history. I believe also that he was responsible for systematic Buddhist missionary work in Central Asia, as we shall see below.

The history of pre-Turkish Central Asia I would divide into three periods of Iranian dominance. First the Sakas for many centuries were the dominant people in Central Asia, not just militarily but in their influence, revealed in the arts, and also in our sources. Then came Kushan dominance which lasted while Buddhism was expanding, at least down to the coming of the Arabs in the seventh century A.D. Before that time, however, the Sogdians, with their center at Samarqand, were establishing themselves as the traders and culture carriers to the Turks, Mongols and even into China. Much less known is the parallel activity of the Khwarazmians in eastern Europe, especially up the Volga. The fact that the Old Russian words for "mosque" and "Muslim", *ropat* < Arabic *ribāt* and *Busurman*, came from the Khwarazmians, indicates the influence of the latter in the Slavic world in Islamic times. We know about Sogdian colonies in Nočkath, south of Lop Nor, in Sinkiang and in the Ordos region, but the parallel activities of the Khwarazmians are much less known[3].

The divisions in history noted above are not intended to be rigid, for obviously it was much more complicated. For example, the Sakas were split by the Kushan expansion, and those who remained in the region of Khotan were isolated from other Sakas, but they preserved their identity, and language, perhaps longer than did Sakas elsewhere. After the Khwarazmians and Sogdians came the

2 One may find ample evidence in Islamic sources of trade between India and the Volga through Merv. See. B. N. Zakhoder, *Kaspiiskii Svod svedenii o vostochnoi Evrope* (Moscow 1962).

3 See E. G. Pulleyblank, "A Sogdian Colony in Inner Mongolia," *T'oung Pao*, 41 (1953) 317-356.

Turks, and the Iranians in Central Asia, as did their relatives in Azerbaijan, became Turkified. So the long Iranian period of Central Asian history was over.

Religion played an important role in the destinies of Iranians in Central Asia. In general terms, and I repeat, in general terms, one might describe the three periods of history mentioned above as a first period of Indo-Iranian, and to a lesser extent Zoroastrian, religious ascendancy among the Sakas. Afterwards there follows Buddhism for the Kushans, and then a local Zoroastrian revival under the Sogdians and Khwarazmians. This, of course, does not include the strong Hellenistic intrusions, with resulting syncretism, primarily in the first three centuries B.C. I believe that the above sketch does give a framework for the religious history of the area. It is well known that in the language of the Ossetes in the north Caucasus, descendants of the Iranian Alans, a distinct Zoroastrian vocabulary, which is found in all other Iranian languages, seems to be lacking [4]. For example, in Sogdian we have *dyn* Avestan *daēnā* (perhaps influenced by the Semitic word DYN) *dyw*, Avestan *daēva*, and *prn* from *xvarnah*. In Khotanese-Saka we find *gyaysna*, Avestan *yasna*, and *phārra* for *xvarnah*. One may certainly postulate a pre-Buddhist Mazdaism in Central Asia, but whether this Mazdaism was colored by Zurvanism is impossible to establish. We may further suppose that many Iranian epic stories flourished in Central Asia under this pre-Buddhist Mazdaism, and that they were being drawn already into a unified "religious-secular epic" [5]. The identification of Rustam with Heracles, and the influx of Hellenic motifs, enriched but hardly changed the development of the epics. Nonetheless, the quantity of artistic remains relating to the cults of Dionysius and Bacchus in Iran and Central Asia would indicate the strength of Hellenic influences, which should not be dismissed as unimportant or only for the Greek colonists in Iran.

Buddhism, however, completely won over the Sakas of Khotan as well as many Sogdians and Hephtalites, but how did Budhism spread in Central Asia? It has been confidently asserted that most Sogdian Buddhist texts were translated from the Chinese [6]. One would expect the reverse, but with such a Buddhist term as Sanskrit *tathāgata*, the Sogian *m'yδ ''γt'k*, seems to be a calque on Chinese 如 來 *ju lei* meaning literally "thus come" (*lei for lai*). Further we have

4 Cf. G. Dumézil, "Notes mytuiques, Indo-iraniens dans le folklore des osses," *JA* (1956) 363 *et passim.*

5 For a good survey see I. Gershevitch, "Iranian Literature," in *Literatures of the East*, ed. E. B. Ceadel (London 1953) 56, 68. The fusion of secular and religious stories into one national epic is the result of later activity, but I believe that the process started early in eastern Iran and Central Asia and cannot be attributed solely to western Magi in Media.

6 J. P. Asmussen, "Die Iranier in Zentralasien," *Acta Orientalia*, 17 (1963) 124.

Sanskrit *kleśa*, Sogdian *γnp'wnh*, Chinese 煩惱 *fan nao*, literally "bothering and worry"; Sanskrit *nirvāna*, Sogdian βγ'γst'*n*, Chinese 天空 *t'ien t'ang*. If we look at the Sogdian and *early* Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, we may conclude that one school somehow united the two, whereas the Khotanese–Saka translations of Buddhist works seem to belong to another school of translators. Tibetan, unfortunately, does not help us. We might have expected that the Sogdian texts were translated from the the Chinese, but Sinologists tell me the reverse should be true since the Chinese terms are surely borrowed. Therefore, it seems to me the answer to this problem is that both Sogdian and Chinese are dependant on another source, which source should be Kushan–Bactrian. Furthermore, the schools of translators probably flourished under the patronage of Kanishka and his successors.

We may postulate then at least two major schools of Buddhist translation in Central Asia; first, the Indian, Khotanese–Saka and Tokharian school, and second, the Indian, Kushan–Bactrian, Sogdian and Chinese school. Later, it appears that the Uighurs synthesized both schools, although the Sogdian influence remained the strongest. For example, the term *kleśa* is *nïzwanï* in Uighur texts, from Sogdian *nyz*β'*n*, meanning "passion", thus in the first school's tradition of translation.

Unfortunately, there does not seem to have been much interest in Buddhist traditions, or rather the history of different traditions, in Central Asia or in China. We cannot find direct evidence of the activities of the schools, or information about them, but we can assume that the Kushans, and the language they employed, were very important in the history of Buddhism and its translations in Central Asia.

In short, the Kushans must be reckoned as the greatest organizers of the east-Iranian cultural area. They were the great dynasty to which later rulers such as the Shahi kings of Kabul, and petty princes in northwest India, Kashmir, and in Central Asia looked back as their ancestors. The memory of the Yüeh–chih 月氏 as all of the Kushans were known in Chinese sources, persisted long in Central Asia, as it did in Afghanistan. The Kushans in Central Asia played a role equivalent to that of the Achaemenids or the Sasanians in western Iran, and as more inscriptions and material remains of the Kushans are uncovered by archaeologists, the importance of the Kushans in history is sure to increase.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GREEK AND KUSHAN ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA.

Journal of Asian History, vol. I, part 1, 1967

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GREEK AND KUSHAN ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

The work of Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia deserves much more attention than hitherto given, since some of the old ideas about eastern Iran and Central Asia as a consequence will need revision. It might be profitable to approach the activities of Soviet savants by discussing several problems in this area.[1]

Some of the important questions still unresolved by scholars are the nature and extent of Buddhist missionary activities and influence, the components of that art which is commonly called Gandharan, and the date of Kanishka. All of these matters present manifold problems, and while no solutions will be proposed here, it is clear that archaeological work in Central Asia will advance our knowledge and bring us closer to an answer to each of the questions above. A survey of recent discoveries in Central Asia may provide a basis for new interpretations of the history of this crossroads of Asia.

The now famous wall paintings of Panjikant have given us basic patterns for the comparison of wall paintings from other sites in Soviet Central Asia.[2] Panjikant, meaning "the five towns", is situated on the Zarafshan River some 68 kilometres east of Samarkand. The reason for the name is unknown, for there is no evidence of five towns in the vicinity. On the other hand, numbers in names

[1] I wish to thank Soviet colleagues for information and aid during my stay in the USSR in the fall of 1965. Especially helpful were V. G. Lukonin, B. I. Maršak and E. V. Zejmal of the Hermitage, V. A. Livšic and M. I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia and Africa in Leningrad, and B. A. Litvinskij of the Tajik Academy in Dushanbe.

[2] In Russian, Soviet Central Asia is Средняя Азия while Chinese Turkistan, Mogolia and Tibet are called Центральная Азия.

always seem to have been popular in Central Asia. The excavations, first led by A. Ju. Jakubovskij (1947—51) and then by Belenickij, have proved a laboratory for many Soviet students of archaeology.[3] Indeed every year a group, including new members, goes to Panjikant to excavate. The multiplicity of wall paintings, unfortunately the majority of which are poorly preserved, seems to indicate that Panjikant was a center where there developed a school of painting. Not only do the temples there have wall paintings but also many of the living quarters. Furthermore, some paintings are painted over earlier ones, including one which covers an earlier painting of T'ang style. The wall paintings of Panjikant, in my opinion, for the most part depict epic and legendary scenes rather than religious scenes. The importance of Panjikant, probably as a center of trade and culture, is indicated not only by the wall paintings and sculptures, but also by the inscriptions found. Sanskrit inscriptions, of course, indicate the presence of Buddhists, whereas the Arabic and Sogdian ostraca found in the citadel imply the existence of a school there, where both Arabic and Sogdian were taught.[4] Similar ostraca in Arabic from Merv indicate the importance of learning Arabic for everyone, not just Arabs, after the Muslim conquest. Possibly more significant than other writings are the three inscriptions found on *one wall* in Kara Tepe. To the left are a Sogdian inscription (written vertically) and underneath a Kushan-Bactrian horizontal inscription in a late cursive script (also called Hephthalite). To the right are the last four letters of a Middle Persian inscription in early inscriptional characters (sometimes called Parsik), *-t*]*ywky* (with the *-t* uncertain). It has been conjectured by Professor W. B. Henning in a letter to the Soviet scholars in Leningrad working on such inscriptions that this stands for an Antiochia in Central Asia, a tempting suggestion that Panjikant was a settlement probably of Antiochus I. I personally am sceptical although I can propose no alternative.

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[3] The basic publications on Panjikant (Пянджикент in Russian) are: a) Живопись Древнего Пянджикента (Москва 1954), b) Скульптура и Живопись Древнего Пянджикента (Москва 1959). Cf. for an English summary of work there G. Frumkin, "Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia IV," *Central Asian Review*, 12 (1964) 177—9.

[4] See В. А. Лившиц, "Первая Согдийская Азбука," Письменные Памятники и Проблемы Истории Культуры Народов Востока where the various Sogdian ostraca are discussed. (Тезисы Докладов А. Н., Ленинград 1966).

The important point, however, is the presence of three scripts in one place. If they are contemporary (which is a large if), then we have a possible key to the date of Kanishka, because it would mean that *late* Kushan-Bactrian was contemporary with *early* Sasanian Middle Persian (ca. 300 A. D. as a rough date). Then Kanishka's date would have to be in the second century and not in the third, as argued by several scholars.[5]

It is impossible here to discuss the many interesting implications of archaeological work in Panjikant. For example, the coins of local Sogdian rulers found there represent a new field of numismatics.[6] It is now apparent that Sogdiana was not a provincial outpost of Sasanian culture and civilization, but was a flourishing center in its own right. Our estimate of the importance of the Sogdians in trade with China and Mongolia has grown as a result of the archaeological work. But Panjikant was not the only site with wall paintings, sculptures and other material remains.

The most sensational wall paintings are those found in the summer of 1965 in Afrasiyab (old Samarkand), primarily because the colors are so vivid, as though they were painted yesterday. They will be left *in situ*, covered with glass, as a tourist attraction, but the excavations have only begun.[7] It seems a court was uncovered, for the figures on horseback on one wall are obviously nobles. Just as in the wall paintings from Qyzyl, and elsewhere in Chinese Turkistan, two ethnic groups are represented by white and red faces on the men. The clothes of the figures have Sasanian motifs on them, a bird with beads in its beak, boar's head, monogram, etc., evidence of a strong

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[5] Professor Robert Göbl of Vienna and Evgenij V. Zejmal of Leningrad, both numismatists, have argued, independently of each other, the early or middle third century as the beginning of the reign of Kanishka. Cf. E. B. Зеймал, Кушанское Царство по нумизматическим Данным, (Автореферат дисертации, Ленинград 1955). and G. Göbl's article in note 14. We will discuss this further below.

[6] Cf. О. И. Смирнова, Каталог Монет с городища Пенджикент (Москва 1963).

[7] Unfortunately, there have been no extensive reports of the find from Afrasiyab. See A. A. Гулямов, "Новый Блеск древнего Самарканда," Общественные Науки в Узбекистане No. 8 (1965) 31—5., and B. A. Лившиц, "Надписи на фресках из Афрасиаба," Тезиы Докладов посвященной Истории Живописи Стран Азии, Гос. Эрмитаж (Ленинград 1965) 5, where the name Afrasiyab is explained as Sogdian ***Parkavap*** "on the black river."

Sasanian influence in Samarkand. Several white swans, or geese, are skilfully portrayed, but the most interesting find was a long Sogdian inscription below a greatly damaged Kushan-Bactrian inscription on one of the walls. Thanks to my friend Volodja Aronovič Livšic, the sense of the Sogdian inscription is fairly clear, although large lacunae exist.[8] A tentative translation based on Livšic' Russian translation follows:

1. When the emissary of the Okhan? king (A)barkhuman?
2. came, he opened his mouth (spoke), so, "I
3. (am) the Chagani scribe, son of Bukar, from
4. the Chagani ruler Turanshah(?) here (and)
5. to Samarkand in the presence of the king together wit
6. respect have come. Then (before) the king
7. full of respect I shall (continue to) be present.
8. And do not have any doubts(?) regarding me

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[8] The inscription is 16 lines and *tentatively* reads as follows: (Text according to Livšic)

1. 'YKZY 'β(rγw)m'ny 'wγn'w MLK' 'z(γ?)'n(t)
2. ''ys rγ' ''p'ncyh(?) 'YKZY 'zw (or ''p'ncy'?)
3. ZK cγ'nkw δp'yrptw pwkr z'tk MN
4. cγ'nkw γwbw twr'nt(γ)w mδyδ 't (tš for γ?)
5. sm''rknδh ZKn MLK' nβ'ntw pr
6. 'sps ''γtym rty ZKn MLK'
7. pr 'sp's 'skw'm skwn
8. rtm cn'nsw'tk 'skw'tw 'yδ L' δ'r(y)
9. sm''rknδc βγγcty 'PZY wβyw (for *βγγšty?)
10. δp'yry'kh (š)yr'kkw yw(γ)t('kw) 'ym
11. wβyw ZKn MLK' (γnsy'kh?) (pr?)
12. k(. . .) (δ'rm?)
13. (šyr'kk?) 'zcy'tw ('skw'y?)
14. (wβyw?) 'βrγwmny 'wγ(n)'w MLK' (. . . .)
15. rty rγ' ''p'ncyh
16. γw cγ'nkw δp'yrptw

Because of the ambiguity of the Sogdian script one might read the place name as *'wɣn'w*, *'wnγ'w*, or *'wzγ'w*. Livšic proposes "Huns". Since the word for Huns was *xwn* or *xwn'nw*, see W. B. Henning, "The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," *BSOAS*. 12 (1948), 604, (Letter II, lines 14 and 16), I am hesitant about the suggestion. Although I cannot identify the area of Okhan (hardly Wakhān), a small principality somewhere to the east of Samarkand seems more plausible than a generic term like "Hun".

9. and the Samarkand gods. Then, at the same time,
10. I am well informed about Samarkand writing, and
11. also of the king's power(?)
12. I have . . .
13. well-wishing
14. (at the same time) the Okhan king (A)barkhuman
15. thus he opened his mouth
16. the Chagani scribe".

The question immediately arises whether the inscriptions are contemporary with the paintings, or, as probably at Dura-Europos, added later. I personally believe that they are contemporary and elucidate the paintings which represent an embassy from the king of a small principality to the court of the king of Samarkand.

Perhaps just as interesting as the occurrence of the almost illegible Kushan-Bactrian inscription together with the Sogdian inscription mentioned above at Panjikant, is the discovery of many copper coins with short Sogdian legends at Ajina tepe, plus traces of Sogdian writing on the walls of several sites in southern Tajikistan.[9] This would indicate that literate Sogdians expanded into Bactrian territory in the 6th—7th centuries A. D. where Kushan-Bactrian was the written tongue. We have said that the Sogdians were great traders who had colonies in Mongolia and China, and culture followed in the wake of trade. Perhaps one could postulate the existence of an important center of painting in Sogdiana, which had ramifications all over Central Asia including Afghanistan in later times.

Over forty years ago Alfred Foucher, head of the *Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, proposed that west of a line extending from Balkh to Qandahar in Afghanistan there was no Buddhism and one should not expect to find there Buddhist remains.[10] The "Foucher line" was always arbitrary, but it was very effectively demolished by a discovery made in August 1965 at a *tepe* 8 km. north of Bairam

[9] According to Boris A. Litvinskij in a conversation in Dushanbe in December 1965. See also briefly his article "Таджикистан и Индия", in Индия в Древности, (Москва 1964) 159.

[10] See A. Foucher, *La vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila* 2 (Paris, 1947), 280—5. For later discussion of "the line joining Bactra to Bamian", see M. Bussagli, "Afghanistan" in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, 1 (New York, 1959), 37.

Ali in the Merv oasis over 400 km. west of Balkh. On the territory of the fruit growing sovkhoz no. 6, during work of expanding the cultivated area of the sovkhoz, a Buddhist stupa ca. 6 meters in diameter and 4 m. high was uncovered. In the upper part of the stupa a large clay jar was found. The jar was broken by workers who found four small stone statuettes of the Buddha (one of which had gold leaf still attached). Also found in the jar were several buttons and Sasanian silver coins, plus a Sanskrit manuscript of thin palm leaves rolled up. According to the Turkmen archaeologist A. F. Ganjalin, in an oral communication, the jar should date from the sixth cent. A. D., and the Sasanian coins were in fact dated 549 A. D. (18th year of Chosroes I.). The ms. contains 150 well preserved leaves of the *pothi* type (17.5 — 5 cm.) with text on both sides, 5 lines to the page. The script of the ms. is vertical Indian Brahmi, and the Sanskrit language has many Prakritisms. The beginning and end of the ms. are missing. According to the colophon of one of the chapters (86a) it is clear that the ms. contained excerpts of a commentary on the Pratimokśa sutra of the Vibhanga type, the oldest tractate on Vinaya. It is thus seen that the ms. was written in a school of the Sarvastivadins. A similar Sanskrit book was found later but was much more poorly preserved.

As a result of this discovery in Sasanian Merv, the importance and spread of Buddhism to the west must be re-assessed. The discovery of other Buddhist remains in Tajikistan, the Ferghana valley, and Kirghizia, emphasize the wide extent and probable influence of Buddhism, and indicate that Kartir, the Zoroastrian priest, in his inscriptions at the end of the 3rd century A. C., was perfectly cognizant of the Buddhist and Hindu strength in the eastern part of the Sasanian domain.[11] Consequently, one should not dismiss stories of Buddhist missionaries in Alexandria and elsewhere in the west as mere fantasy.

To come to the final archaeological site, which promises to yield much information about Greek and Gandharan art in Eastern Iran and northwest India, we leave Soviet soil for Afghanistan. In the fall of 1965 M. Bernard, present director of D. A. F. A., with G. A.

[11] On Buddhist remains from Kirghizia see G. Frumkin, "Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia III," *Central Asian Review*, XII (1964), 21. For a Buddhist [illegible] at Kuva in the Ferghana valley, see B. A. Булатова-Левин in Советская

Košelenko and another Soviet colleague from excavations in Daghestan as observers, carried out the first campaign of eoxavations at a Greek city site today called Ay Khanum. The site lies on the east bank of the Kokcha River where it joins the Amu Darya. One might hazard a guess that the site may be ancient Eucratidia, mentioned by Ptolemy and Strabo. It was established that the top layer of the site is Greek with no Kushan or Islamic strata above the Greek stratum. Huge walls around the city, and especially thick walls around the citadel inside, were found. In one area, possibly a temple, eighteen fallen Corinthian columns were uncovered. In this building several coins of Euthydemus were found, as well as potsherds with Greek letters. Fortunately, several inscriptions of temple dedications were found. Greek unpainted thin red ware and thin grey ware with large rims, as well as other characteristic features of the Hellenistic period, were recovered intact. Obviously no deductions about the art of this area can be made, but a possible answer to the hotly disputed question of the origins of Gandharan art may be found in the next few years.

The controversy is simply stated. Daniel Schlumberger and his French colleagues believe that the art of Gandhara is primarily the descendant of a Greek art in Bactria, the only evidence for which are the Graeco-Bactrian coins. Benjamin Rowland and other American and British colleagues, on the other hand, believe that Gandharan art is essentially a development from Roman provincial art, and that there were no Greek antecedents in Bactria for the art of Gandhara.[12] The question could not be resolved until excavations of a Greek site were carried out, and Ay Khanum is the first such site. Therefore, the importance of future work in Ay Khanum cannot be overestimated. Whether spectacular art treasures are found or not, the continuing excavations should point the way to a solution of a vexing problem.

Finally, we come to the last problem to be discussed here, the date of Kanishka. Two international symposia have been held in the last half-century on the date of Kanishka. The last one was held in London

[12] Cf. D. Schlumberger, "Descendants non-méditerranéens de l'Art grec," *Syria*, 37 (1960), 136—142; B. Rowland, "Gandhāra and Late Antique Art," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 46 (1942), 223—36; and H. Buchthal, "The Common Classical Sources of Buddhist and Christian Narrative Art", *JRAS*. 1943, pp. 137—148.

in 1959, and while the date of Kanishka was by no means determined, there was a concensus that he should be placed somewhere between 78 and 144 A. D. The first date is that of the so-called Saka era of India, which, according to some scholars, could also be the first year of the Kanishka era. There are only two other known areas in northern India, the Vikrama era beginning about 57 B. C., and the Gupta era starting ca. 320 A. D. We find preserved dated Indian inscriptions of the Kushans to the year 99 of the Kanishka era but none later. This century of dating by the Kanishka era fits beautifully into a gap of about a century in the inscriptions of northwest India dating up to 200 and again from 303 to 399 of an unknown era, but which may be an Old Saka era beginning ca. 129 B. C.[13] This era would better be regarded as a floating chronology.

Recently Robert Göbl and Evgenij Zejmal have independently proposed a new alignment for this floating chronology. On the basis of a strange gold medallion in the British Museum with a bust of the Roman emperor Constantine on one side, and a figure of Ardoxsho with cornucopia, on the reverse, a feature of Huvishka's coins, Göbl gives Kanishka's year one as 225 A. D.[14] Zejmal, on the basis of a study of the whole series of gold Kushan coins, concluded that the Roman parallels were found only in the third and fourth centuries A. D. According to him, the development of stylistic features of, for example, the Diana figure, from a short dress to a long dress, and from springing with a bent bow to a standing figure, can be traced on Roman provincial coins especially of Anatolia only in the time period mentioned above. He further believes that the great king of the Kushans mentioned in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta ca. 355 A. D. should be Vasudeva the last great Kushan king.[15]

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[13] The inscription of 103 is from Takht-i Bāhī, from 200 Dewai, from 318 Loriyān Tangai (Swat vallay) and 399 Skărah Ḍherī (n. of Charsadda). For these inscriptions see S. Konow, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, vol. II, part 1 of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Calcutta 1929). Whether all of the inscriptions, mentioned above, are dated in an "Old Saka era" is, of course, not known. A. L. Basham, "A New Study of the Saka-Kuṣāṇa Period.", BSOAS 15 (1953), 91, accepts the date 129 B. C.

[14] R. Göbl, "Zwei neue Termini für ein zentrales Datum der alten Geschichte Mittelasiens," *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna 1964) 151.

[15] J. Fleet, *Incriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, vol. III of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Calcutta 1888), 8. Cf. Зеймал, *op. cit.* (note 5) 12.

Zejmal would place Kanishka even later than Göbl. It is impossible to come to any conclusion regarding Kanishka's date, but the two new suggestions cannot be ignored. I believe we shall reach a conclusion only with new archaeological data.

In conclusion, it may be too early to reconstruct a cultural history of Soviet Central Asia in the Graeco-Bactrian and Kushan periods, but some general remarks could be made. The geographical isolation of the successors of Alexander the Great enabled them to build a flourishing center of Hellenism in the east, the influences of which were more far reaching than hitherto thought. Primarily through archaeology, we now have a better picture of the spread of Buddhism in Bactria and Central Asia. The Kushans were able to build upon an already integrated Hellenistic-Buddhist-local Iranian culture and to develop it even further. The importance of the Kushans for their own, and later periods of Central Asian history is much greater than previously thought.[16] Future work in Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia will undoubtedly continue to open before our eyes a new realm, a new field, in the history of Asia.

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[16] See my remarks in "Kushans and other Iranians in Central Asia", in the forthcoming memorial volume *Reşid Rahmeti Arat İçin* in Ankara.

SKETCH OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN CENTRAL ASIA OF THE GREEK-KUSHAN PERIODS

Site	Location	Expedition and Leader	Dates and Strata	Wall Paintings or other remains	Inscriptions	Remarks
1. Panjikant	68 km. east of Samarkand on Zarafshan R.	Aleksandr Markovič Belenicky, Hermitage and Institut Arkheologii, Leningrad.	5th–7th cents. A. D. town and citadel.	25% of houses excavated (ca. 90) had wall paintings 1. 4armed goddess on dragon 2. Zurkhāne 3. Two Chinese T'ang figures under top painting (VI obj, pom. 42).	1. Sanskrit in Tibetan characters on large pot. *2. Arabic ostraca, school exercises. *3. Sogdian ostraca, school exercises. (* denotes ostraca found in citadel).	No courts in houses, two stories. Population ca. 15% aristocracy, (many publications). Excavations to continue.
2. Afrasiyab	Old Samarkand	Vasili Afanasevič Šiškin (deceased Oct. 1966) and Lazar Izrailevič Albaum, Uzbek Acad. Scs. Institut Arkheologii.	Walls of 2–1 cents. B. C. (dated by coins); Large court of 7th–8th cents. A. D.	In court 1. Embassy on horses with red faces and white faces. Sasanian motifs on clothings. 2. Ducks or swans. 3. "Farn" figures as at Panjikant.	1. Sogdian on figures; Sogdian and Kushan-Bactrian on wall.	(Sole publication Ja. G. Guljamov pp. 31–35 in *Obščestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistane*, 8 [1965]) Excavations to continue. V. Shishkin, Afrasiyab Tashkent 1966

Site	Location	Expedition and Leader	Dates and Strata	Wall Paintings or other remains	Inscriptions	Remarks
3. Varakhsha	West of Bukhara in the oasis	Uzbek Acad. Scs., Institut Arkheologii, Vasilij Afanasevič Šiškin	6th–8th cents. Court of rulers of Bukhara.	Scenes of hunt. Leopards attacking rulers on elephants.	Coins of rulers of Bukhara and [illegible] Sogdian inscriptions	Šiškin, *Varakhša* (Tashkent, 1963) Excavations ended.
4. Altyn Tepe Namazgah Tepe	Merv Oasis	Vadim Mikhajlovič Masson, Institut Arkheologii, Leningrad	Enolithic to Bronze age and Sasanian sculptural stucco.	Indian influence strong, Pottery like Harappa. Also bronze female figures with long necks and neck rings. Excavations to continue.		Previous pub. V. M. Masson, *Srednaja Azija i Drevnij Vostok* Moscow 1964 148, 182.
5. Bairam Ali Tepe	Merv Oasis	V. M. Masson	Stupa 6th cent. (coins of Chosroes I dated 549 A. D.)	Sanskrit book, 150 folios, in jug with two Buddha figures.	Ostraca: Arabic, Pahlavi, Sogdian, Parthian, Kushan-Bactrian.	(No pubs.) Excavations to continue.
6. Ak Tepe	Old Abiverd s. of Tedžen	M. Gubaev, Turkmen Acad. Scs. Institut Arkheologii	Sasanian ruins		Dozen Sasanian bullae found with *'p'wrty* or *Apavarktikene* (*Abiverd*)	(No pubs.) Excavations to continue, but see. *The Antiquaries of the Abiverd District.**
7. Balalyk Tepe and Dzhumalak Tepe	North of Termez ca. 14 and 16 km.	L.I. Albaum, Uzbek Acad. Scs.	5th–6th cents. A. D.	Wall paintings in temple of Balalyk Tepe; all destroyed in Dzhumalak Tepe.	None Silver Hepthalite coin from Dzhumalak Tepe.	Excavations ended. See Albaum, *Balalyk Tepe* (Tashkent 1960).

* Acta Universitatis Asiae Medica, Series II Orientalia, fasc. 3 (Tashkent 1931), in Russian with an English summary.

Site	Location	Expedition and Leader	Dates and Strata	Wall Paintings or other remains	Inscriptions	Remarks
8. Zang Tepe	North of Termez 30 km.	L. I. Albaum	6th–7th cents. A. D.		6 birch bark leaves from books in Skt. (Central Asiatic Brahmi)	*India v Drevnosti* (Moscow, 1964) pp. 199–217
9. Kara Tepe	North of Termez ca. 2 km.	Boris Jakovlevič Staviskij, Hermitage (to 1965), Uzbek Acad. Scs. Museum of Peoples of East in Moscow (after 1965).	1st–4th cents. and 11th–12th cents. A. D.	Fragments of geometrical designs.	Ostraca in Kushan-Bactrian 50 in Skt. (Kharoshthi and Brahmi) Kushan coins Arabic graffiti.	Buddhist caves and monastery. B. Staviskij, ed *Kara-Tepe* (Moscow, 1964) Excavations to continue.
10. Ajina Tepe	Near Kurgan-Tyube	Boris Anatolevič Litvinskij, Tajik Acad. Scs., Institut Arkheologii.	6th–8th cents. A. D.	Stupa and monastery. Lying Buddha 7 m. long (as in Kuva, Ferghana and Krasnaja Rečka, Kirgiz SSR).	ca. 200 local Sogdian coins legend: *twrk MLK'*.	*India v Drevnosti*, pp. 159–160. Excavations to continue.
11. Ay Khanum	Juncture of Kokcha and Oxus Rivers on east bank of Kokcha.	D.A.F.A. under the direction of M. Bernhard.	3rd–2nd cents. B.C. Only one stratum Greco-Bactrian.	Citadel and city. Temple (or court) partially excavated.	Greek letters on ostraca. Temple dedications, private donors.	18 Corinthian columns and much plain red & grey Greek ware. Excavations to continue.

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REVIEWS

Indo-Iranian Journal, vol. XII-No. 4 (1970).

REVIEWS

Helmut Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*, 2 parts. Wiesbaden, 1966, 1967. 142 pp., 16 pp. and 32 plates.

Since the first publication of the Bactrian inscription of Surkh Kotal by the late A. Maricq in 1958, much has been written about this major remain of the language, as well as about the legends on coins, seals and minor inscriptions.[1] Professor Humbach in the present publication gathers all known materials written in the Bactrian language and translates them, correcting others, as well as his own previous publications. The second part of the publication consists of hand-drawings of the modified Greek alphabets used in the inscriptions, plus the legends on Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian and Hunnic-Turkic coins, the seal legends, followed by photographs of inscriptions on stone and parchment or paper. The photographs of the coins and seals, discussed by Humbach, may be found in the companion work of Professor Robert Göbl of Vienna, which is indispensable for controlling the readings of Humbach. Furthermore, the latter refers to Göbl's classification in identifying the coins and seals.[2] Before discussing details of Humbach's publication some general remarks may be of interest.

The use of a modified Greek alphabet for writing the Iranian language of northern Afghanistan, which conveniently has been called Bactrian by the late Professor Henning, can be attributed first to Kanishka, since we find Greek legends on his early coins and Bactrian on later issues. From the time of Kanishka this language and alphabet, albeit with changes, such as the cursive script as well as linguistic changes, was employed in the mountains of Afghanistan and northwest Pakistan down to the ninth or tenth century of our era when Islam made inroads into the mountain areas. Since the rise of New Persian written in the Arabic script soon replaced all Iranian systems of writing in the Islamic oecumene, one cannot expect to find Bactrian writing after the time of the rise of the Ghaznavids. Thus the script and language flourished for many centuries through the Iranian, Hunnic and into the Turkic period of the history of the eastern Iranian plateau and the northwest plains of the sub-continent of India.[3] The rulers in the later two periods inherited the culture and probably also the bureau-

[1] Cf. the first publication of the inscription in the *Journal Asiatique*, pp. 345-440, and the extensive bibliography in Humbach's book, pp. 7-10.

[2] R. Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1967). Volume 3 contains the illustrations.

[3] It is possible, even probable, that the Yüeh-chih of Chinese sources, with their leading clan the Kushans, were originally Tokharian speakers. In Afghanistan, however, they adopted the Iranian language of the settled people, which language may have been strongly influenced, if not in essence displaced, by an Iranian language of the Sakas.

cratic organization of the earlier Iranian (Saka-Parthian-Kushan) era. This overall division is, I believe, necessary as a background for understanding the history of the area.

The first inscriptions discussed by Humbach are the three in the Peshawar Museum on stones from Tochi, southwest of Peshawar. One stone has both an Arabic and a Sanskrit text. The Arabic text is read by Adolf Grohmann (pp. 105-108) as a memorial to the building of a shelter over a water reservoir, dated the 7th of September 857 A.D. The Sanskrit text is not a duplicate of the Arabic, but it has a date 32, which Humbach identifies with 3932 of the Laukika or Śāstra era or 856 A.D.[4] From this stone the assumption is made that the others date from approximately the same time and also have dates on them. It is not the place here to go into detailed readings of the inscriptions, but surely the first characters of Tochi ITSB and Tochi ITAB are different. In the latter, the character looks like *ti-* and not like the *-z-* at the end of line 8. Perhaps the word should read πιδ < πιδο, although I admit the traces of the beginning characters in ITSB do not look the same. One would expect a word such as *pid* < *pati* before the word *xšuna* rather than Humbach's *za* which I do not understand. The reading of the dates are uncertain but I have nothing to offer in place of Humbach's calculations. The bars extending from each letter plus the dots are most curious. Since we have three dots over a letter below, perhaps borrowed from Arabic, may we not have something similar here? I naturally looked for the title Shahi-tegin in the first line of ITSB, but this reading cannot be correct. Indeed the complete and confident reading of both inscriptions without hesitation is what one might have excused in someone writing in the nineteenth century but not now.

The following discussion of dating and the time of Kanishka is more reasonable, and there are two additions I should like to make to the author's remarks. First, the Paikuli inscription (note 1, page 15) mentions a *kwšn MLK'* in the Parthian version (block G'-11 line 4 in Herzfeld's numbering) with no name. The Middle Persian version of this passage is lost and the reconstruction of Zamasp the Kushan on another block should be followed by a question mark, since all that can be seen on the stone are *z'-* in Parthian and *ZY kwš-* in MP, *not corresponding* to the *kwšn MLK'* in the Parthian above.

It is unlikely (p. 16) that Hormizd I was ever governor of Khurasan under his father Shapur I, since he is called king of Armenia in the Ka'bah inscription of Shapur. A note to the curious reading φρομο κησαρο on a late (probably post-Islamic) coin (pp. 20-23) is the Paikuli inscription (Block H-15 of Herzfeld's edition of Paikuli) where we have in line 2 *']Pn kysly W ḥl[w]m[y]*, where the letters in brackets are unclear. From this strange coin type to consequently find Romans and Kaisars in other inscriptions, is not recommended. The reading seems clear, but a *caveat* must be issued about all such short legends on coins. One would expect other coins to elucidate this reference to what must have become almost a legend in Central Asia by the late mediaeval period. Why would a ruler put such a legend on his coins? The Bactrian script on the coins can be read in other ways than proposed by Humbach, and the reader would be well advised to withhold judgment.

The author discusses the Turkish title *yabyu* with its antecedents pp. 24-28, and comes to the conclusion that the title is originally Chinese. In an article of mine mentioned by Humbach, I had tentatively concluded that the title was Iranian in origin.[5] It may have been Tokharian in origin, according to Pulleyblank, but hardly Chinese.[6] The

[4] J. Harmatta in "New Evidences for the History of Early Medieval Northwestern India", *Acta Antiqua*, 14 (Budapest, 1966), 446, proposes a different interpretation of the date in the Sanskrit inscription, 8/9 October 857 according to the era of Kashmir.
[5] In *Oriens*, 15 (1962), 356.
[6] E. G. Pulleyblank, "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese", *Asia Major*, 9 (1962), 95, 256.

Chinese records themselves do not give evidence of the title ever having existed in China, *as a Chinese title.* Chinese titles were borrowed by or given to barbarians, but this was not the case with *yabyu.*[7] The fact that the second Chinese character in the title means "chief" or "lord" in Chinese is consonant with the Chinese love of playing with sounds and meanings, to make them coincide in foreign words. It seems that in chapter 110, 21 of the *Shih Chi* quoted by Humbach (p. 26) from the translation of de Groot, there is a confusion between "lord of Hsi", a tribe of western barbarians according to chapter 116 of the *Shih Chi* and the title *yabyu.*[8] The confusion of characters in Chinese makes it hazardous to translate them in the very same way on *all* occasions. The translation "lord of Hsi" may be questioned, but the characters do not represent either a Chinese title or *yabyu*, which has other characters.

In the section of the book on "Alkhon and Huns" (pp. 28-31) Humbach brings together disparate references in Greek, Armenian, and Sanskrit sources, together with coins, to elucidate the past of a tribe or people called Alkhon. All evidence points to them as Huns, or better Chionites, for we know that the "Hunnic period" of this area begins about 350 A.D. Presumably Hunnic tribes invaded the area and established a hegemony over at least a part of the land and people. In this transition period there is no wonder that we should have the new Huns and the old rulers, the Kushans, confused in sources. One importance of the reading ALXONO on the coins, first made by Robert Göbl, is that it ends an old reading OIONO, accepted by H. W. Bailey and Olaf Hansen,[9] and another reading HIONO proposed by R. Ghirshman.[10] This means we have no numismatic evidence for the name *hyōn*, Χιων, Chionitae, etc., but rather for "Hun", if the etymology of Alkhon can be determined as *al-* and *xon* "red Huns". The first part, as everyone recognizes, presents problems, for one would expect an older, fuller form. With Humbach, I can only hope that future discoveries may clarify this name.

There is a danger that the Alkhon will now take the place of the Chionites or Huns everywhere in the east, whereas it still seems clear, as Bailey proposed, that *hyōn* and *hūn*, *Hūṇa* in Sanskrit are to be identified.[11] The Alkhon can be only a branch of the larger designation "Huns", and the Hephthalites are another. Of late there has been much discussion of the ethnic composition of the Hephthalites, but no consensus has been reached.[12] In the second half of the fifth century the Hepthalites spread their rule over northwest India, and in 484 the Sasanian king Peroz lost his life in battle with them. Although the Hunnic period is in full swing, one might regard the Hephthalites as a last Iranian (but mixed with Huns) migration from Central Asia since the Chinese histories (*Liang Shu*, *Sui Shu*, *Chiu T'ang Shu*) and others all assert that the Hephthalites belonged to the Yüeh-chih or Kushans. But they mingled well with the Huns, and especially with the local Iranian population from whom they took over the system of writing. This would explain certain non-Altaic features among the Hephthalites, as noted by Enoki and Gumilev. The mystery of the Hephthalites, if so it be, is probably

[7] For an instance of a Chinese title borrowed by the ruler of the kingdom of Shan-shan, see J. Brough, "Comments on Third Century Shan-shan", *BSOAS*, 28 (1965), 600.

[8] The same character Hsi (Humbach p. 25) is here (ch. 116) found alone, therefore it could not here be part of, or an abbreviation of, the title *yabyu.*

[9] H. W. Bailey, "Hāraḥūna", *Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller* (Leipzig, 1954), 20; O. Hansen, "Die Berliner Hephthaliten-Fragmente", *La nouvelle Clio*, 3 (1951), 46.

[10] *Les Chionites-Hephtalites* (Cairo, 1948), 19-21.

[11] *Ibid.*, 13.

[12] K. Enoki, "On the Nationality of the Hephthalites", *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*, 18 (Tokyo, 1959), 1-59; L. N. Gumilev, "Eftality-Gortsy ili Stepyanki", *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 3 (1967), 91-99.

of the same nature as, for example, the Ayyubids in Islamic history. Saladin was a Kurd; his army was mostly Turkish, and the common people Arabs. What would one call the Ayyubids? With the Hephthalites we are already at the beginning of the expansion of the Turkish peoples, which adds a new complex to the composition of the Hephthalites. But they still can be called Huns since they flourished in the "Hunnic period". The written language, with which Humbach is concerned, however, continued to be Bactrian.

A section of the book is concerned with problems in the history of religions (pp. 32-38). Humbach persists in holding that the Bactrian word μαλιζο is a synonym for βαγο "lord", whereas Henning showed the derivation from **hama-diza-*, which is not only much more likely, but probably the last word on it had not been seen by Humbach before he read proofs on his book.[13] With this word the "Mithras der Mittler" = μαλιζο disappears. Humbach asserts (footnote 2, p. 35) that his principle of reading the monograms in the great Surkh Kotal inscription was correct, and his readings ΔΕΙΟΟ < **daiva* and ΜΙΥΡΟ < Mithra were also correct. In regard to the first, no one denied that monograms were usually representations of names, although the principle that *all* Sasanian monograms on seals represent the name or legend on the rim of the seals is in *many* cases demonstrably false. Humbach's reading ΜΙΥΡΟ may be plausible, since Mihraman contains "Mithra" in his name, but his assertion that these monograms represent divine names is unsupported elsewhere, and the characters in the Berlin Hephthalite fragment (MB 4, line 5) are most uncertain as a monogram before βαγο. The assumption that any word in Bactrian related to Skrt. *deva-* "God" must have been borrowed from Sanskrit (p. 36) now must be re-examined in the light of Sogdian *δyw*, as explained by Henning.[14]

This review is already too long, but lest the reader conclude that Professor Humbach's really great efforts are to be rejected, the extreme difficulties of interpreting the relatively new found language of Bactrian are not to be minimized. Professor Humbach has produced a monumental work, which will require rectifications in the future, as all pioneer work does. One need not disregard everything that J. Hertel wrote because of disagreement with his Avestan "Feuerlehre". Likewise, one should not ignore Professor Humbach's work on coins and other inscriptions simply because of his "Mithraic" interpretation of the great inscription of Surkh Kotal. We have in this publication material for future work in history as well as linguistics, and for this Humbach is to be thanked.

Harvard University

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BIYĀBĀNAK: THE OASES OF CENTRAL IRAN

Central Asiatic Journal vol. V, No. 3, 1960

BIYĀBĀNAK:
THE OASES OF CENTRAL IRAN

I. IN PRE-ISLAMIC TIMES

The Biyābānak area of central Iran, probably the northernmost extension of the date palm culture, includes over a dozen oases, about one half of which have populations of more than a thousand. The area is included within E. longitude (Greenw.) 54° 15′ and 55° 15′, and N. latitude 33° 5′ and 34° 10′. The Dašt-e Kavīr bounds it on the north, the Kavīr west of Ṭabbas on the east, the desolate land between Beyāzeh and Ribāṭ Pušt-e Badām on the south, and the oasis of Chupānān on the west. Thus the Biyābānak may be considered as roughly 70 miles by some 90 miles in area. It is isolated from the rest of Iran by the salt Kavīr on two sides, and stony deserts on the others. The best information about the Kavīr can be found in the books by the intrepid Austrian desert explorer Alfons Gabriel.[1]

An examination of historical sources uncovered no trace of the name Biyābānak before Islamic times, and even then the name appears relatively late.

We find a religious man called Maulanā Zain al-Dīn ʻAlī al-Biyābānakī in the sixteenth century book *Mazārāt-e Kirmān*.[2] The French traveler Tavernier in Safavid times mentioned the town of Biyabanact on the route from Isfahan to Ṭabbas.[3] This is probably the oasis now known as Beyāzeh, which is sometimes even today called Biyābānak. In modern times in European literature the area is first mentioned under the name Biyābānak by MacGregor in 1875, who further records that it was a sub-

[1] Cf. A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens* (Wien, 1952), where literature is given.
[2] Ḥusain Kōhī Kirmānī, ed. *Mazārāt-e Kirmān* (Tehran, 1950), 109.
[3] J. B. Tavernier, *Voyages* (Paris, 1724), II, 449.

division of Semnan province, and so it remained until a few years ago.[4] The word is probably a diminutive in *-k*, of *biyābān*, MP *viyāpān*, hence "little desert". On the still uncertain etymology of the word see Junker, who gives references to the literature.[5]

Among the Classical authors we find little information about this area, and one is never certain whether the oasis world of the Biyābānak is included in the vague statements about the central part of Iran. Herodotus mentions the tribe or people Σαγάρτιοι as nomads living east of the Medes and west of the Parthians.[6] These are the people of *Asagarta* province mentioned in the OP inscriptions.[7] Whether this is to be interpreted either as "land of the stone cave dwellers", or "land of horse-drawn wagons", is open to considerable dispute,[8] while the location of the province and identity of the people is also unclear. Herzfeld even proposed that the Sagartians were the ancestors of the Kurds, but gave no evidence for his surmise.[9] In any case the inhabitants of the Biyābānak could only be a small portion of this larger group of Sagartians, if they were included at all among them. The Biyābānak has never played any role in Iran's history, for the area could not have supported anything but a small and fluctuating population, the latter because of the constant need to search for water and the drying up of wells and springs.

The Biyābānak was probably included in the desert of Carmania of Ptolemy and Strabo, although both geographers only mention the desert regions of Iran.[10] Until a new edition of Ptolemy's sections of Parthia and Carmania is made, with careful study and notes, identifications of towns or districts will be extremely hazardous. Ptolemy speaks of camel herdsmen, καμηλοβοσκοί, in the desert of Carmania, which, however, tells us little.[11] Probably some of the reputed mineral wealth of this province came from the present day rich mining region of Anarak and

[4] C. M. MacGregor, *Narrative of a Journey through the Province of Khorassan* (London, 1879), I, 91.

[5] H. F. J. Junker, "Mittelpers. *Frašēmurv* 'Pfau'", *Wörter und Sachen*, 12 (1929), 143.

[6] Herodotus I. 125. Cf. the discussion in G. Rawlinson, *The History of Herodotus* (London, 1875), IV, 204.

[7] Cf. the various forms of the name in L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great at Behistûn* (London, 1907), lxxi.

[8] R. G. Kent, *Old Persian* (New Haven, 1950), 173. Cf. also the articles Σαγάρτια by Weissbach and 'Sagartioi" by Herrman in Pauly-Wissowa's *Encyclopedia*.

[9] E. Herzfeld, "Vishtāspa", *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1930), 183, note 1.

[10] Strabo, *Geography*, XV. 2.14; Ptolemy, VI. 6–8.

[11] The use of camels in this area seems attested by the expedition of the satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania to meet Alexander the Great in Gedrosia. Cf. references in M. A. Stein, *Archaeological Reconnaisances in Northwestern India*, etc. (Oxford, 1937), 137.

vicinity.[12] From these brief and general notices of the central deserts of Iran in Classical sources one can only surmise that people did live in, or at any rate travel through, the deserts, including the Biyābānak.

The only detailed study of the central deserts of Iran based on Classical as well as Arabic and Persian sources, to my knowledge, is that of Tomaschek.[13] For the time when it was written this is an excellent work, and the author made use of all the Classical sources available. Since then the only new sources, not known to Tomaschek, are Islamic, for the new Sassanian inscriptions give us no information.

The largest oasis of the central desert region of Iran, Ṭabbas, must have been settled in ancient times, but it is questionable whether Ptolemy's ταβικηνή or ταβιηνή is to be identified with the strategically located oasis.[14] Ṭabbas is the key to the only feasible desert road from Khurāsān to Fārs. It is here that the Dašt-e Kavīr to the north and the Dašt-e Lūṭ to the south are separated by a narrow band of stony rather than salt desert. In Islamic times the great pilgrimage route to the Shi'ite shrine of Mešhed from Fārs passed through Ṭabbas, and one may surmise that it was a key point for invaders in the past. The derivation of the name from Arabic *ṭibs* "dark brown" by Tomaschek (*op. cit.*, 599) is incomprehensible to me.

In Parthian times we hear nothing of the central deserts of Iran, and the routes of the *Mansiones Parthicae* of Isidore of Charax skirt the Kavīr to the north. The Sassanian period is likewise veiled, and it is only in legend and hearsay that we have evidence of occupation of the oases of the Biyābānak. The people of Jandaq, when questioned why they spoke good Persian instead of a dialect as the other oases, affirmed that their oasis had been a place of banishment from the time of the Sassanian king Khusrō Anōšarvān (531–579 A.D.) and this had kept their language in a pure form. While this is not to be taken seriously, nonetheless the reference to Khusrō is interesting. It must be remembered, however, that Khusrō plays the same role in pre-Islamic Iran as Shāh 'Abbās does in Islamic times; Khusrō represents the high point in pre-Islamic glory and culture for the Persians of today.

There is little doubt that there were Zoroastrians in the Biyābānak until late in Islamic times. Gabriel reports that to the south of Khūr was

[12] Cf. the article "Karmania" by Stolze in Pauly-Wissowa.

[13] W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie von Persien, II. Die Wege durch die persische Wüste", *SWAW*, 108 (1885), 561–652. The part dealing with the Biyābānak is 616–622.

[14] Ptolemy, VI. 5.1. The identification is disputed by Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, though he does not give his reasons.



Fig. 1.

the Kōh-e Khūr (Mountain of Khūr) at the foot of which was the burial ground of the Zoroastrian inhabitants of the oasis. He adds that Khūr was still Zoroastrian only six hundred years ago but gives no references.[16] There is also the site called Ateškade "fire pyre" in the village of Deh-e nau "new village" ca. 6 km. to the south of the oasis of Mihrijān, which indicates Zoroastrian remains.

Under the Sassanians there was probably an increase in activity in the mines of the Anarak area, for from here came, and still comes, some of the silver for which the artisans of Isfahan are noted. The aggressive policies of the Sassanian rulers must have required a considerable amount of money and the mines of the desert areas were surely exploited. Tangible evidence of this is provided by the discovery of a Pahlavī (late cursive) inscription found in January 1953 by miners in a lead mine at Nakhlak some forty miles northeast of Anarak.

The small stone (figure 1) measuring 16×12 cm. and 4 cm. thick was brought to Dr. Karl Bartelmuhs, Austrian doctor in Anarak, who gave it to Hans H. Kanus, German student at the University of Tehran. It was found approximately two meters below ground. It seems proper to me to present an infra-red photograph which I had made of the stone while in Tehran, even though I can present no reading of the inscription, a rather difficult cursive hand. Dr. Bartelmuhs, the first European to whom the stone came, was eager to have the stone made known to the scholarly world, which is the authority on which I base the present publication.

I know of no similar stone from Iran and the Pahlavi papyri from Egypt are in another ductus. The black ink on the rough surface of the stone, probably applied with a brush, was hardly visible to the naked eye except in some places, but under infra-red the lines appeared in black much more visible. The second line, beginning with *b-* seemed the most hopeful for an attempt at decipherment, but until one is sure of a reasonably connected and sensible reading, it is better to risk no surmises since someone else may well find a different text, even one concerning Huns no less.

II. IN ISLAMIC TIMES

Much more is known of the central deserts of Iran in Islamic times than before the Arab conquest, but the oasis of Ṭabbas, not a part of Biyābānak though allied to it, plays the major role. We are not certain when the Arabs received the submission of the inhabitants of the oases, or when

[16] A. Gabriel, *Im weltfernen Orient* (München und Berlin, 1929), 308.

the latter became Muslims, for the standard Arabic histories give little information about the area during the conquest. The *History of Yazd* says that when the Arabs came to Yazd in pursuit of Yazdagird they split into two columns. One column went to Ṭabbas, passing through Rēg-e Šuturān, while the other remained in the village of Fahraj, called Fahra by the Arabs.[16] On the way to Ṭabbas the Arabs lost the way and many of them died of thirst. Two holy men who died on this expedition, one Mālik, the other Ibn ʿImrān, were buried in Čahārdeh of Ṭabbas. Ṭabarī also says that Yazdagird passed through Ṭabbas on the way to Khurāsān, and Aḥnaf b. Qais followed him.[17]

We next hear of Ṭabbas shortly thereafter, when ʿAbdallāh b.Budail b. Warqā' al-Khuzāʿī raided and conquered Ṭabbas for the Muslims.[18] This was in the year 23/643 during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Balāδurī says that the inhabitants of the two Ṭabbas (see below) made peace with the Arabs for 60,000 (or 75,000) *dirhams*.[19]

Of course this does not mean that the people of the central deserts of Iran became Muslims in the time of ʿUmar. Local tradition gives a much later date for the conversion of the Biyābānak to Islam. The people of the oasis of Farrūkhī told me that the entire area was converted to Islam in the time of the Imām ʿAli Rizā (beginning of the ninth century A.D.). Missionaries came from four directions; from Nāīn, Yazd, Semnān, and Ṭūs; a battle was fought which the inhabitants of the Biyābānak lost, and consequently they accepted Islam.

In the oasis of Beyāzeh there exists a roll of paper written in poor Arabic, replete with errors, which purports to be a *Jang nāme* or *Waqf nāme*, describing the conquest of the area by the Muslims, which gives a different version of the conversion. I was only able to study in Khūr a modern copy of the existing seventh century A.H. copy (of Beyāzeh) of the purported original of the *Waqf nāme*. The Arabic of the modern copy is so defective that a corrected text cannot be established without considerable surmise and interpolation. However desirable a corrected Arabic text may be, without recourse to the original in Beyāzeh, which I could not locate, any other attempted text is folly. A summary translation of the contents which can be understood, with many interpolations, however, may be of some interest.

[16] ʿAbd al-Ḥusain Āyatī, *Ateškade-yi Yazdān* (Yazd, 1939), 67.
[17] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. De Goeje, I, 2881 (year 31 A.H.).
[18] *Ibid.*, I, 2704 (year 23 A.H.). Balāδurī, *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. De Goeje, (Leiden, 1866), 403.
[19] *Ibid.* Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. M. Houtsma, II ,192, says the people of Ṭabbas submitted to ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sullamī after he had conquered Nishapur.

Book of the battle or endowment, dated Jumādā the Second
1003/1594 (*sic*)

On the twenty-fifth day of Jumādā the Second year 422 of the Hegira (19 June 1031) we (Muslims) came from the terrible desert, with the army and followers of our tribes, brothers, partisans and our loved ones. We (Muslims) were seeking the blood of our relatives (lit. sons of our uncles) from the group of Magians and inauspicious ones and their followers.

These are the infallible (martyrs): the son of the imām Abū Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, the imām's son Abū ʿAbdallāh Ibrāhīm, the imām's son Farīd b. Ismaʿīl, the imām's son Junaid b. Ḥamza, and the imām's son ʿAbdallāh b. Salmān, all of them children of the great imām Mūsā b. Jaʿfar al-Kāẓim.

We found them worshipping Ayḥbt (?) and idols, and we called on them to believe in the one God. But they refused and became haughty and mocked us and said "This is what our fathers followed and I (we) follow their traditions." So they remained. One night I saw my forefather in a dream. I complained to him of our sorrow and our anxiety. Then he said, "Do not fear, rather be sad for their speech; verily our armies will be victorious from intensity of joy and delight (?)."

Then morning came to us and we attacked with our people in battle against them – the polytheists. The word of the Most High was confirmed. They (the Muslims) killed them and wounded them. And they were scattered as locusts. Then they turned back in flight as if they were frightened asses fleeing from a lion.

They assembled in a village (called) Jarmaq and took refuge in the citadel and barred the gate. But fear entered their hearts and their spokesman said, "Peace, peace", and we showed them mercy. They committed themselves to God Almighty and said "We hear and obey."

Thereupon they pronounced the words, "I testify that there is no God but God, that Muḥammad is the Prophet of God, and that ʿAlī is the beloved of God." Then they began to come out of their strongholds. We sent a messenger to them and their chiefs to bring them to Islam. Then they accepted the One God and said, "We have been in error."

After this they said, "We offer to God sincerely (as a token of conversion to Islam) a third of a sixth of water from springs and from *qanāts*, palm trees, gardens, and houses, except the sown fields of Irāq (name of an oasis) (for which) we will take the price, and will write an agreement of payment of ransom for God. First Ribāṭ, a sixth of its extent. The circumference of this village is twelve days and the width four days and nights (travelling) from the origin of the sweet water *qanāt* and the lands located in the valley, a third of the area, and its water collecting in the pasture; the houses (are) excepted.

Second is the village of Mafāzaq, a third of a sixth, and it includes the village, the *qanāts* of sweet water to the boundary on the west, including in it an area of twenty-one days and nights by seven days and nights (travel), and lands, trees, palm trees, gardens, and houses up to the gate of the fortress. Then adjoining it (is included) the cultivated area called Kāhish, located in the desert. This village (is included) and the cemeteries of the village, bounded by the gate of the citadel to the east to the desert.

The third village is Jarmaq (from which came) a third of a sixth of the spring water coming from the mountain. (The area is) sixteen days and nights (travel) including lands and palm trees of the fortified village (in the gate of the mill?), to the cultivated area of Khūr to the east, and a part also of the village called Bahmān. The first boundary is from the cemeteries of the village, the second by the road of the cultivated area, and to the road of the village of Mafāzaq and to the side of the citadel.

The fourth village is Mihrijān, seven days and nights (voyage), of the total of *qanāts* and in circumference twenty-one days and nights (voyage). (Included are) its lands, trees, palm trees, an area of good yield. Excepted are the houses and the mill on the road to Jarmaq. The same (to be given) was agreed by the new village as (was agreed) by the village of Mihrijān.

The fifth village is Khūr, (and from it) the water of the lower *qanāt*. In circumference it is fourteen days and nights by five days and nights (travel). (Included are) the lands, trees, palm trees, from the walls of the lower fortress to the hills of the springs of Khidfūr to the east.

Of the village of Mīrzā b. Farrūkh, a third of all the village except two cultivated areas were given to God. The produce was obtained, the possessions of the village – all of them of plants, wheat, and dates, they took out the government's share and the rest (was gathered) in a place where the afore mentioned martyrs were buried, expecially (the grave of) Abū Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, at the head of their graves, (as) food for the poor of the inhabitants, conforming to the Book of God. They wrote two pages to this intent.

There was a pious man of the people of the village of Mafāzaq called Mīr Muḥammad b. ʿImād Shāh, who ordered this:

By the will of God they preserved these two pages through time, etc.

Questions of reading and translation, of this almost hopeless text, will be discussed elsewhere; here we are concerned only with the interpretation. It is difficult to give full credence to the contents of the *Jang nāme*, but we may consider some of the information as reflecting reliable sources.

In the year 421/1030 Ibn al-Athīr says that the armies of Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd of Ghazna conquered Kirmān, coming from Khurāsān.[20] It is possible that the conquest of the Biyābānak area occurred at the same time, although there is no real evidence. A tradition, reported by Gabriel,[21] that a certain Sayyid Da'ūd from Madina came to the Biyābānak about six hundred years ago and converted the inhabitants of Khūr to Islam, apparently is reported only by the people of Khūr. Almost every town or village in Iran has traditions about holy men who played a role in the history of the town or village, and it is well-nigh impossible to find references to them in the standard Arabic and Persian histories. Therefore,

[20] Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leiden, 1863), 9, 282.

[21] A. Gabriel, *Im weltfernen Orient*, 308.

the possibility of verifying the local tradition, or the information in the *Jang nāme* is small indeed.

From the *Jang nāme* and a study of the early Islamic history of Iran one may tentatively conclude that the people of the isolated Biyābānak area were converted to Islam only three or four centuries after the Muslim conquest of Iran. It is also probable that a military expedition was necessary to bring about the conversion, so the *Jang nāme* may contain echoes of actual events. The reference to sons of the imām Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Kāẓim, however is suspicious.

The information about the division of possessions by the inhabitants of the oases and their agreement to give part of their possessions to the Arabs (to Allāh) corresponds to other accounts of agreements between the Arab conquerors and the local people. In Bukhara, for example, Qutaiba b. Muslim ordered the people of the city to send "every year 200,000 *dirhams* to the caliph and 10,000 to the Amīr of Khurāsān. They had to give half of their houses and fields to the Muslims, and fodder for the horses of the Arabs, firewood, and whatever was levied in taxes."[22] Similar conditions were imposed by the Arabs on other conquered cities.[23]

It is interesting to compare the names of the oases listed in the *Jang nāme* with those in the accounts of the Medieval Islamic geographers, and with the names of the present oases in the Biyābānak. Most of the Medieval geographers mention the area only in their accounts of the caravan routes from western Iran to Khurāsān. The most detailed of them, Ibn Ḥaukal, says:[24]

„The road from Nā'īn to Khurāsān: It is a stage from Nā'īn to cultivated area in the desert, and there are perhaps two or three people in the latter. It is called Būnah and in it is a spring of water. Those people cultivate it. From there to Jarmaq are four stages, and on the route at every two or three *farsakhs* is a domed structure and a well with water. Jarmaq is called Sihdeh and the explanation of this is that there are three villages, the name of one Biyādaq, another Jarmaq, and the third Arābah. It is part of Khurāsān and in it are palm trees and cultivated areas and many domesticated animals. In the three villages are about 1000 men, and each village is within close eyesight of the other."

„From Jarmaq to Naujāy (new place) are four stages, and a domed

[22] Frye, *A Mediaeval History of Bukhara* (Cambridge, Mass. 1954), 53.
[23] In Merv the Arabs received houses and possessions as part of the agreement with the conquered people. (Cf. Balāδurī, ed. De Goeje, 405). The *Ta'rīkh-e Qumm*, ed. Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Tehranī (Tehran, 1935), 244, mentions several villages given to the Arabs. Most sources only give the amount of tribute in *dirhams* which was paid.
[24] Ibn Ḥaukal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers (Leiden, 1939), 2, 405.

structure and well every three or four *farsakhs*. From Naujāy to Ribāṭ Khūrān is a stage, and from the *ribāṭ* to the village called Ataškahān is an easy stage. From Ataškahān to Ṭabbas is a stage."

Iṣṭakhrī[25] has less but gives Arānah as a variant of Arābah, and Naukhānī for Naujāy. Maqdisī[26] and Ibn Khurdāδbih give no additional information about this route, but in 1052 Nāṣir-e Khusrau crossed the desert and wrote:[27]

„From Nā'in we went forty-three *farsakhs* to the village of Karme of the desert area, which has ten or twelve villages. That district is warm and has date trees. In former times this area had Kūfijān. At the present time, when we arrived, Amīr Gilakī had rid this region of them and had put a deputy of his in a village with a small fort called Piyāde, who keeps the district in order and the roads in safety. If the Kūfijān attack the roads the soldiers of Amīr Gīlakī are sent on their trail and seize them, take their loot, and kill them."

„On this desert road every two *farsakhs* domed structures and cisterns to collect rain water have been built in places which have no salty soil. These domed buildings are there so men will not lose the way, and (such) that in heat and cold a brief stop there gives (one) rest. On the way we saw moving sand so much that anyone who turns from the marked (route) is unable to get out of that sand and perishes."

"From that (sand) we passed through salty broken terrain for six *farsakhs*, such that if one went to one side of the trail he would sink in it. We continued to the Ribāṭ Zubaide, which is also called Ribāṭ Mirāmī. That *ribāṭ* has five wells of water. If the *ribāṭ* and water did not exist no one could cross the desert. From there we came to the Čahārdeh (four villages) of Ṭabbas, to the village called Rustābād. On the ninth of (the month of) Rabīʿ the First we arrived in Ṭabbas. From Iṣfahān to Ṭabbas is 110 *farsakhs*."

The various routes across the deserts of central Iran are indicated on the map no. V of G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930), with discussion 325–7. The site of Khūrān was

[25] Iṣṭakhrī, ed. M. J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1870), 231.

[26] Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsim*, ed. M. J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1877), 491. He gives another route from Khurāsān (Naisābūr) to Isfahan: "The route of Naisābūr, starting ..om Ṭurθiθ (Turšīz) to the Ribāṭ-i Zanjī (or Yaḥyā) a stage, then a stage to Bann, then a stage to Drzīṅk (or Drbīk) then to Naukhānī (or Naujāy) a stage, a stage to Khulvān, then to the second Bann a stage, a stage to the well of Bānah, then a stage to the well of Rīk (or Rbk), a stage to Brmšīrk (or Bīrmsīrk), a stage to Lūkīr (or Lūlūkīr), a stage to al-Ukhrī, then a stage to the cistern of al-Ḥājib, then a stage to Jarmaq, a stage to the water of al-Ḥarr, then seven stages (named) to Isfahan."

[27] Nāṣir-e Khusrau, *Safar nāme*, ed. M. Ghāmzāde (Berlin, 1922), 139–40.

a meeting place of several routes (possibly the Shūrāb of modern maps), but Ibn Ḥauqal[28] describes it as "a fortress made of plaster and stone with three or four persons in it to defend it. There is a spring in it but no cultivated fields."

Of the three villages of the Biyābānak mentioned by Ibn Ḥauqal and Iṣṭakhrī, Biyādaq is probably the Arabicized form of the present oasis of Beyāze, the Mafāzaq of the *Jang nāme*, which latter incidentally is almost the same as in Farvī, the dialect of the oasis of Farrukhī. Tomaschek[29] proposed the etymology Arabic *bayāḍ*, "white", which is certainly wrong. Eilers said,[30] "My informants from Khūr said Bäyāyå for Bäyāze SW (dialect form) **Ba(γ)yāδak*, side by side with NW **Ba(γ)yāzak*." He discusses the relation of this, and other place names, with a reconstructed **baga yāza* "Gottesverehrung".

As far as I could learn in Khūr, however, the people of Khūr called the oasis to the south Beyāze, or more commonly the name one finds on modern maps, Biyābānak. The form Mafāzak, or phonetically Mefazœk in the Farvī dialect, may simple be a Persian form of Arabic *mafāza* "desert", a translation of *biyābānak*.[31] I cannot propose a satisfactory etymology of the oasis name Beyāze, and any etymology is highly conjectural in spite of the suggestion of Eilers. The village of Piyāde, mentioned by Nāṣir-e Khusrau (*supra*), if it is to be identified with Beyāze, probably represents a *Persian Volksetymologie, piyāde* "on foot, a foot soldier". Compare *piyāz* "onion", which Eilers discusses.

Jarmaq, the most important oasis, which gave its name to the area, has been identified with Khūr by Tomaschek,[32] followed by Gabriel.[33] This is probably the Karme or Garme of Nāṣir-e Khusrau (*supra*). At present there is an oasis of Garme, twenty miles south of Khūr, and another oasis called Āb-i garm "warm water" not far from Garme to the northwest. Since the sites of the oases have changed even in recent times, and new oases have been born while others have died,[34] there is no valid reason to assume that Khūr is to be identified with Jarmaq simply because the former is now the largest oasis, and the administrative center, of the area.

[28] Ibn Ḥaukal, *op. cit.*, 408.
[29] W. Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, 617. Also C. Zetterstéen in S. Hedin (note 39), 298.
[30] W. Eilers, "Der alte Name des persischen Neujahrsfestes," *Abhandlungen der Akad. der Wiss. in Mainz* (Wiesbaden, 1953), No. 2, 41, note 1.
[31] This is assumed by Habīb Yaghmā'ī, *Sharḥ Ḥāl-i Yaghmā* (Tehran, n.d. [1925?]), 12.
[32] W. Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, 621, 629.
[33] A. Gabriel, *Im weltfernen Orient* (Munich, 1929), 307.
[34] E.g. Chupānān, which was founded only half a century ago, and 'Abbāsābād, to the west of Farrukhī more recently. Gabriel, *Durch Persiens Wüsten* (Stuttgart, 1935), 82, mentions the creation of a village near Jandaq.

The brief descriptions of Jarmaq by the Arabic geographers would fit present Garme, as well as Khūr, or several other sites for that matter. I would identify Jarmaq with Garme since the latter is near Beyāze (and Mihrijān), hence within eyesight (according to the geographers). The word probably means "the warm place", rather than from a proper name (of a tribe), or "fruits".

The third village mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥaukal is difficult to identify. There are three oases today, each one of which might be identified with Arābah since each can be seen from the other. These three are Irāj and Urdīb to the west of Garme and Mihrijān to the east, in the desert. The only one mentioned by the Mediaeval geographers is Mihrijān. Yāqūt[35] says, "Mihrijān is (also) a large village between Iṣfahān and Ṭabbas. There is a mosque in it in ruins." The only publication in recent times which mentions these oases is the booklet by Yaghmā'ī concerning the Biyābānak.[36] Of the three villages he says:

"Urdīb has five hundred inhabitants. It is located two *farsakhs* west of Garme, and has a *qanāt* with seven wells, and several dikes of 'Dāmghān' (?) water. The water is very good. For water and climate Urdīb is the best place in the Biyābānak. In the gardens there one finds cypress, pine, willow, and pomegranate trees. The pomegranates and tobacco of Urdīb are famous."

"There are several settlements in the vicinity of this village of which the most important is called Āb-i garm. This is a small village with a high altitude, and around it are continuous mountains enclosing it, such that there are only two trails leading to it."

"Māšā'llāh Khān, son of the well-known Nāīb Ḥusain Kāshī built several towers on the tops of these mountains, and in the village a citadel which is spectacular and very strong."

"In Āb-i garm are two springs only fifteen feet from one another. One is cold and pleasant; the other is very hot and clear, and a visible pool of one and a half *dhar'*[37] in depth has been made. From all over the Biyābānak come people for a cure (for it is a sulphur spring)."

"Irāj – There is a mountain of stone and earth, and on one side facing Urdīb, peasant buildings and houses have been built. Its inhabitants, with surroundings, number five hundred. To the southwest of this settlement flows a river called Bāziyāb. On its banks are five hamlets.

[35] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1869), 4, 699.

[36] Yaghmā'ī, *op. cit.*, 10–12.

[37] Text has *dr'*; read *dhr'*, pronounce *zar*. I am uncertain whether this is the measure of a cubit, a palm, the height to a man's breast, or 104 cm.

This water is potable, and this is the only river in the Biyābānak."

"Mihrijān – It has eighteen cultivated areas, and the (entire) population is about one thousand souls. They say that the population of this village were Jews. The chief produce of that place are dates, of which the most important are called *Qasb*."

"Irāj and Mihrijān are two villages which owe their founding to two brothers called Irāj and Mihraj. It is well-known that in former times much of the water of Irāj flowed to Mihrijān, a distance of six *farsakhs*. Even now the traces of the canal and mortar are easily visible."

From these accounts one might choose between Mihrijān and Irāj as the descendant of the Medieval Arābah. The apparent similarity of Arābah and Urdīb is of no consequence. Regarding etymologies, Schwarz[38] is speaking of another town when he says that formerly Irāj was called Īj, and brings to mind Īraj, son of Farīdūn in the Persian epics.[39] Eilers[40] derives the name of the oasis of Mihrijān from a man's name, possibly one born on the day of the old Mihragān feast. Urdīb is strange, but on the analogy of Mihragān, the Persian month (and day) name Urdībihišt would come to mind. It must be remembered, however, that we are dealing with dialects which may have had unknown forms in Mediaeval times. In any case, etymologies of such place names are very hazardous. Incidentally, the Medieval desert route ran to the south of the present way from Anarak to Khūr via Farrukhī.

According to the people of Farrukhī and Khūr, at the present time dialects are still spoken in Farrukhī, Khūr, Garme, Āb-i garm, Irāj, and among the old people of Mihrijān. At Jandaq, Urdīb, Beyāze, Mihrijān, Deh-i nau (south of Mihrijān), and Ribāṭ Pušt-i Badām, Persian is spoken. They claimed that the dialect of Irāj was the "strangest" of all in the Biyābānak, for differences exist between the dialects, e.g. between Farvī and Khūrī.[41]

To return to the scanty information about the history of the area, the name of Amīr Gīlakī was preserved in the appellation Ṭabbas-i Gīlakī, to distinguish it from neighboring Ṭabbas-i Masīnān, known to the Arabs as the "two Ṭabbas".[42] Little is known about the prince himself save that he was an Isma'īlī and brought order to the deserts in the eleventh century

[38] P. Schwarz, *Iran in Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1910), 104.

[39] The Ij of Schwarz is mistaken for the Irāj of the Biyābānak by K. Zetterstéen, "Zur Bedeutung der persischen Namen", in Sven Hedin, *Eine Routenaufnahme durch Ostpersien* (Stockholm, 1927), II, 316.

[40] Eilers, *op. cit.*, 41, note.

[41] Frye, "Report on a Trip to Iran", *Oriens*, II (1949), 213-15.

[42] E.g. Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb* (London, 1912), 367b.

when Nāṣir-e Khusrau passed through. His son Amīr Ismā'īl Gīlakī is better known for his role in Seljük history, and the praise which he received from the poet Mu'izzī.[43] It is significant that Amīr Gīlakī put an end to the depredations of the Kūfijān "the mountaineers",[44] who were closely associated with the Baluchis.

The oasis of Jandaq, the farthest north of the oases on the edge of the Kavīr, must have been important in Medieval times for Maqdisī[45] says the road from Dāmghān to Wndh is forty *farsakhs*, and from Wndh to Jarmaq is fifty *farsakhs*. One may suppose that Wndh (read Vinda?) is to be identified with Jandaq, which would discredit the purported etymology of the name from *gand-(ak)* "bad smelling".[46] The tradition reported by Gabriel,[47] that Jandaq was once a port on an inland sea which covered the Kavīr, can hardly refer to historic times if true.

Although Marco Polo passed through the central deserts of Iran, he does not seem to have visited the Biyābānak. The French traveller Tavernier, in the time of Shah 'Abbās mentioned a town or village called Biabanac(t) on the way from Iṣfahān to Ṭabbas.[48] This is all the information I could find about the Biyābānak until recent times.

The first European to come to the Biyābānak area and record his voyage was the British officer, C. M. MacGregor in 1875.[49] He reports that the Biyābānak, a subdivision of Semnān province, had eight villages, Khūr with 400 houses, Jandak with 50 houses, Farrukhī with 40 houses, Garmāb with an unreported number of houses, Urdīb with 40 houses, Irāj with 50 houses, Mihrijān with 100 houses, and Beyāze with 60 houses.[50] He speaks of the miserable condition of the inhabitants of the oases, and of the population of Khūr, where he stayed for a day. He says it is composed of Persians, Arabs, and Syude (Sayyids?).[51] Mention of Arabs confirms other sources which mention raids of Arab tribesmen and Baluchis in recent times.

[43] 'Abbās Iqbāl, "Amīr Dād Habašī b. Altūn Tāq ve Amīr Isma 'īl Gīlākī", *Yādegār*, 3 (1947), no. 9, 59.
[44] Kūfij or Kōfič/Kōč, from OP **kaufa* "mt.", hence "mountaineers", according to Marquart, "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Erān", *ZDMG*, 49 (1895), 666.
[45] Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, 491, note.
[46] Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, 629; Zetterstéen, *op. cit.*, 306; Gabriel, *Durch Persiens Wüsten*, 191.
[47] Gabriel, *Im weltfernen Orient*, 324. The same was told to Sven Hedin, *Overland to India* (London, 1910), I, 319, by the Jandaqis.
[48] J. Tavernier, *loc. cit.*
[49] C. M. MacGregor, *Narrative of a Journey through the Province of Khorassan* (London, 1879), 2 vols. Volume 1, pp. 91–100 is concerned with the Biyabanak.
[50] *Ibid.*, 91. Garmāb must be Garme rather than Āb-i Garm.
[51] *Ibid.*, 93.

Yaghmā'ī says,[52] "In the time of the Qājārs, Isma'īl Khān 'Arab 'Āmirī ruled this area as a dictator. Many remains, buildings and constructions were left by him, much of which is still in the hands of his descendants." The "Arabs" who came to the Biyābānak from Fārs province before World War I were the Īl-i Basīrī or Basūrī, as Gabriel calls them.[53] The people of Khūr say they settled down in Irāj and Āb-i garm and terrorized the desert as far north as Semnān and Shāhrūd, plundering caravans and killing people. Their place was taken by Nāīb Ḥusain Kāshī during World War I. Kāshī was one of the bandits who seized power when central authority broke down as a result of the constitutional crisis and then the war. From the people of Chupānān, Khūr, and Ṭabbas a history of Kāshī might be reconstructed, for his depredations are still fresh in their memories. He came from Kāshān, and with his bandit army ruled much of the desert area. He depopulated Anarak, captured Khūr but apparently did not capture the strong citadel of Ṭabbas or the fort at Jandaq with its strong base of stone. The Bakhtiyari tribesmen fought him as well as the British South Persia Rifles.[54] He was finally captured and put to death in Tehran, but his reign of terror still remains in men's memories.

Throughout the recent history of the Biyābānak, until Reza Shah pacified the entire country, the area was subject to the raids of the Baluchis. The people of all of the oases tell many tales of Baluchi raiders, and other writers have taken notice of them.[55] The people of Chupānān described the system of fire signals used by the inhabitants of the Biyābānak to warn of approaching Baluchi raiders. The first fire tower was as Pušt-i Badām, then the fire at Irāj would be lit, then one at Kalavor Khāne (near Chupānān), then at the mines of Nakhlak, and finally Anarak would be the last. In such a manner the news of the coming Baluchis would be disseminated over the area.

[52] *Op. cit.*, 15.

[53] Gabriel, *Im weltfernen Orient*, 325.

[54] P. M. Sykes, *A History of Persia* (London, 1930), 525.

[55] Eg. S. Hedin, *Overland to India*, II, 18, near Ṭabbas; MacGregor, *op. cit.*, I, 90, regarding Pušt-e Badām; several notices in Sarlašgar Razmārā, *Jughrāfiyā-yi Niẓām. Irān, Kavīrhā-yi Merkezī* (Tehran, 1945), 94–96. The population figures of the oases, given by Razmārā, differ from other estimates.

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REMARKS ON AN OUTLINE OF NEAR EASTERN HISTORY

Indo-Iranica, Volume six, July 1952, Number one

REMARKS ON AN OUTLINE OF NEAR EASTERN HISTORY

In teaching courses in general education on the Near East I have been obliged to present in an outline form some of the salient features of the whole course of history in the Near East. With the present interest in the social sciences ever increasing, and the methods of analysis developing at great lengths, it is incumbent upon qualified scholars to examine the history of the Near East in a new light. I make no pretence to be a social scientist, and do not wish to even propose a philosophy of Near Eastern history à la Toynbee or Spengler, but I believe the need for renewed study of Near Eastern history with regard to the new directions and methods of the social scientists is not to be denied. Perforce, any attempt at studying Near Eastern history as a whole will be replete with generalisations. Generalisations are always subject to criticism, most frequently because of the exceptions found in any systematisation. Of the exceptions I am cognisant, but I believe that the following brief suggestions may yet have some value in giving an impetus to further investigation in a promising field.

The geographical background of Near Eastern history is extremely important, for geography has conditioned the course of events in the various parts of the Near East perhaps more than elsewhere in the world. I propose the simplest division of the geography of the area in four parts. First is Egypt which is the Nile—to be understood as a geographic entity sufficient unto itself. The history of Egypt can be studied as a unity with little reference to the rest of the Near East, from earliest times to the present. This is not to say that influences, cultural and otherwise, did not enter or go out from Egypt, but rather Egypt is a *cul-de-sac,* like India and China, which absorbs outside invaders and influences without undergoing great upheavals.

Second, the Fertile Crescent—a term popularised by the Egyptologist Breasted—is the core of the Near East, the goal of

invaders from Arabia, Iran, or Anatolia. Attempts to unite the entire Fertile Crescent under one rule constitute much of the history of the Near East. Here it was that Egyptians fought against the Assyrians, Romans versus the Parthians, Byzantines against Sassanids, Mamelukes versus Mongols, and Safavids versus Ottomans. Even today the Hashemite family would like to unite both arms of the Fertile Crescent under one rule. Apart from the Syrian desert, the only geographical features which have influenced the history of the Fertile Crescent to any great extent, are the mountains of the western arm—the Lebanon and anti-Lebanon, and the mountains of Palestine—differentiating various political units from the time of the Philistines through the Crusaders to the state of Israel.

On three sides of the Fertile Crescent are plateaus, centres of civilisations at times rivals for control of the fertile lowlands. A study of the history of the Arabian, Anatolian, and Iranian plateaus shows much in common, with fertile valleys in the foothills of each plateau providing arenas for the growth of civilisation. The ways of life in each of the three areas, too, have much in common, and are in contrast to the life in the lowlands.

Finally we have the 'refugee' areas of the Caucasus and the Hindu Kush ranges, with the Zagros, Taurus, Lebanon, and Elburz mountains on a lesser scale. The number of languages and tribes found in the first named mountains is legion, and such refugee groups as the Alans (present Ossetes) and Circassians are well known. The same is true of the Hindu Kush and Pamirs chain, where we find refugee groups such as the Kafirs—reputed descendants of Alexander's legions—and the Hazaras of Mongol origin. The Zagros refugee area for the Kurds, Lurs, and Bakhtiyaris fits the same pattern. In the Taurus Mountains there existed kingdoms of Armenians, Turkomans, and others, while the Lebanons have their Maronites and Druzes.

Thus, geographically the Near East can be divided into the four areas mentioned above—including many subdivisions not mentioned—with much of the history thereby elucidated.

What of the salient divisions of Near Eastern history? These can be readily observed when we realise the significance of religion for the Near Easterner. His attitude towards nature and time is all important; hence the great divisions of his history are to be sought primarily in great religious or cultural changes. Obviously the most important division in Near Eastern history is the coming of Islam. This is the greatest break with the past; the history

of the Near East can be divided into pre-Islamic and Islamic. If this is the most important, four star, event in Near Eastern history, what are next in order of importance? The three star events are two in number—the conquest of Alexander the Great and Hellenism, and the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon with the resultant coming of the West. In brief, I propose the following scheme of important divisions in Near Eastern history, beginning with the sixth century B.C.:

**Achaemenid "One World."

***Hellenism (Seleucids, Ptolemies, and Parthians).

*Sassanian-Byzantine rivalry

****Islamic conquest

*Abbasid caliphate

**Turkish invasions and Mongol conquest

*Safavid-Ottoman rivalry

***Westernisation (Napoleon's invasion of Egypt)

Revolutions of 1906-7 in Turkey and Persia as important events in the last division.

The Achaemenid Empire was the summing up of the earlier history of the Near East. Hellenism is comparable to Westernisation in its influence on the Near East. Sassanian-Byzantine rivalry, like the later Safavid-Ottoman, reveals an important cleft in Near Eastern history between the power looking to the sea on the one hand, and the power looking to the steppes of Central Asia on the other. This cleft has many ramifications which I shall not go into here. The Turkish-Mongol invasions are very important, but not the equal of Hellenism and Westernisation. The revolutions of 1906-7 in Turkey and Persia, like the revolution of 1905 in Russia, opened the Near East to liberalism.

Another pattern which can be found in Near Eastern history is the pattern of invasions into the Fertile Crescent. Here too an outline can be made. I divide the invasions into three groups, from the Arabian peninsula, from Central Asia (and the Iranian plateau), and from the Mediterranean Sea.

Invasions from Arabia are characterised by the use of the camel as means of locomotion, and by a strong tribal solidarity giving impetus to the invasion. The desert left its imprint on all of the peoples coming into the Fertile Crescent from Arabia, and the rule they established was always conditioned by their desert background. Perhaps a rhythm of invasion can be established, though I am neither concerned with nor convinced of it at present.

We have the Semites of the third millennium B.C., the Aramaeans of c.1300 B.C., the Nabateans and Palmyrenes of the first and second centuries A.D., the Arabs in the seventh and the Wahhabis in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, all with much in common. Indeed one can understand one invasion by comparing it with the others.

From Central Asia and the Iranian plateau we find horse borne nomads with a caste solidarity—or at least something different from the tribal solidarity of the Semites. Here steppe and plateau condition the way of life and the kind of rule of these invaders. It may be possible to establish a rhythm of invasion of these peoples too. The forerunners of the Aryans were the Mitanni and Kassites. Then came the Aryans themselves about the turn of the first millennium B.C. Scythian invaders appear in the Near East c.700-600 B.C., Parthians 300 B.C., Sakas and Kushans later, Huns in the fourth century A.D., Turks after 1000 A.D., Mongols two centuries later, and finally the Uzbeks in the sixteenth century.

The third group of invaders came from over the sea. One of the early groups were the Philistines who gave their name to Palestine where they settled. After the conquest of Alexander the Great came Greek merchants, soldiers, and colonists. Then the Romans took over Greek rule. The Crusaders introduced a new factor in the Mediaeval history of the Near East, while Napoleon's invasion opened the area to the West. Finally we have the state of Israel in the same tradition.

One may go too far in attempting to correlate the pattern of invasions, but they do lend themselves to speculation on a possible historical law or rhythm.

In conclusion, I should like to mention two parallels useful for students, both regarding the religions of the Near East. Islam is not only a continuation and synthesis of Hellenism and Judaism-Christianity, but one may note correlations, expressible in mathematical formulae, which in a very general way may help in understanding Islam. The first equation I propose is Judaism : Christianity = Sunni Islam : Shi'ite Islam. This is not as flippant as it may seem, and I beg the reader to give it careful reflection, rather than read a lengthy defence of it. The second formula is Quran : Hadith : Sunna = Torah : Mishna : Talmud. Again I request the reader to give it thought rather than attend to my reasons for making the equation.

This brief paper then is merely a preliminary sketch of several ideas which I hope to develop elsewhere in a study of the entire history of the Near East. I hope the reader will think of the history of the Near East along similar lines, for I am sure further work will prove fruitful for an understanding of this area of the world.

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REMARKS ON BALUCHI HISTORY

Central Asiatic Journal, Vol. VI, No. 1, 1961

REMARKS ON BALUCHI HISTORY

In attempting to study the history of the Baluchis one must distinguish between the people and the geographical area now known as Persian Baluchistan and Pakistan Baluchistan.[1] For the Baluchi people, or rather those who spoke Balōčī in its older forms, as is well known, were late settlers in the land called Baluchistan.

If one flies over the country today it appears very barren, almost a lunar landscape, and so it must have been throughout historic times. Persian Baluchistan is separated from the rest of Iran by rugged mountains on the west, roughly from the present town of Bam on the north to Jask on the Indian Ocean, while to the north is the formidable Lut desert. These boundaries serve to mark a division between eastern and western, or better northeast and southwest, Iran. The easiest routes of communication between the two, but not the only routes, go north or south of the Lut. One route goes through Seistan and northward, the other through Kirman to Bampur, or the reverse as Alexander marched.[2] This latter approach has been described many times by European travellers and it is probably by this route that the Baluchis entered the land which was to bear their name.[3]

Although archaeological evidence indicates an occupation of Baluchistan long before written records we know nothing of the country really until the Greeks took an interest in the lands and peoples of the Achaemenid empire.[4] The area is mentioned in the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions of Darius at Behistun and Persepolis as "Maka" with

[1] I use the form Baluchi for the people and Balōčī for the language.

[2] Cf. the map, and discussion in the text, of the route of Alexander in W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* (Cambridge, 1948).

[3] Literature in A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens* (Vienna, 1952), pp. 224-231, 265-6, 277- 82, and map at end.

[4] Cf. M. A. Stein, *Archaeological Reconnaisances in North-western India and South-eastern Iran* (Oxford, 1937), p. 72, *et passim*.

ethnica "Mačiya". Kent discussed this, giving a bibliography, but concluded that a definitive identification of the land "Maka" was impossible.[5] But *Maka* must be related to the name *Makrān*, the name for the coast-land of West Baluchistan. The difficulties in finding an Iranian linguistic connection between *Maka* and *Makrān* are to be explained by the non-Iranian name of *Maka* or present *Makrān*, which was inhabited by non-Iranian speakers. Marquart assembled the source material,[6] in turn drawing on Tomaschek,[7] who found the name *Makara* as one of the western neighbors of the Indians in a book by Varahamihira.[8] The name Μακαρηνῆ also occurs in Stephan of Byzantium.[9] The Middle Persian pronunciation of *Makrān* was probably *Makurān*, as we learn from the Armenian form, and of course from the Paikuli inscription.[10] Marquart wisely attempted no etymology, and the etymologies assembled by J. J. Modi (e.g. *māhī khūrān* "fish eaters") are all unacceptable.[11] It is possible that the land known to the Assyrian annals as *Makan/Magan* is identical with the *Maka* of the OP inscriptions and the Μάκαι (also Μύκοι, and other variants) of the Greeks, but this is speculative with no

[5] Kent, "The present status of Old Persian Studies", *JAOS*, 56 (1936), p. 218. The same is in his book *Old Persian*.

[6] *Ērānšahr* (Berlin, 1901), p. 31.

[7] W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie von Persien I", *SWAW*, 102 (1882), p. 190.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 187, where he refers to the translation of the *Brhat-Samhita* by H. Kern in *JRAS*, new series 5 (1870), p. 84, where "Makaras" are mentioned. In the new edition and trans. of this work by V. M. R. Bhat (Bangalore, 1947) I, 163, however, the word is "Margara". One must be very cautious in evaluating the Indian information.

[9] Ed. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1825), 3, p. 200, speaking of the thirteenth city of Alexandria founded by Alexander ἐν Μακαρηνῆ ἣν παραρρει ποταμὸς Μαξάτης and 4, 777, Μάκαι ἔθνος μεταξὺ Καρμανίας καὶ 'Αραβίας. Both passages are discussed in detail.

[10] H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 50. In the Paikuli inscription appears, MP line 45 *mk(wr)['n]*, and in Parthian line 42 *mkwrn MLK'*. In the same line of the MP version (the Parthian is missing) we find *spndwrt'n W p'rd'n MLK'*. Pāradān has been discussed by Marquart in *Ērānšahr*, p. 31, but Spandavartān remained unclear. I think *spndwrt'n* (*spanta wirkend? varδ-ān*) is a family name and belongs to the preceding word and should not be connected with *p'rd'n*.

[11] J. J. Modi, "The Country of Mekran – its past History", *East and West* (Bombay, 1904), pp. 1-12. P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia* (London, 1902), p. 91, says that Makrān is from Sanskrit *maka irina* "waste of Maka", which is unacceptable. W. Eilers *apud* W. F. Leemans, "Trade Relations of Babylonia", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 3 (1960), 29, proposes the etymology Mediaeval **Mak-kiran* "Maka coast" for Makurān, while Makā is the Iranized form of the ancient place name Makan, Sumerian Má-gan. This is the best explanation, yet a problem remains for this presupposes an Old Iranian **Maka-karana* or "end or frontier of the Maka" rather than "coast". Furthermore, the difference between Akkadian *Ma-ak* for O.P. Maka and the Akkadian name *Mak-kan-na* for Magan is troublesome.

proof.[12] Herzfeld suggests that since the inhabitants were pre-Iranian aborigines any Iranian names found in Greek sources referring to this area are names given by Iranians to the Barbarians and not the indigenous names.[13] Unfortunately the material at hand is insufficient to come to any conclusions worthy of record.

The article by Kiessling in *PW* is probably the best brief history of this area to the Muslim conquest.[14] In it he writes that the earliest inhabitants of Baluchistan were the Dravidian "Maka" and "Parikanioi", who were conquered by the Iranian Gedrosians sometime before Alexander's conquest. Part of the Maka people then moved across the Persian Gulf to Arabia while others remained in Baluchistan, around present-day Maškid. Under the Sassanians the name *Maka* reappears as *Makurān* and the name Gedrosia is lost.[15]

This reconstruction is based on the occurrence of a number of Iranian names from this area in Classical sources (e.g. the name Ὑδράκης in Arrian, *Indica*, 27.1). Too much weight, however, should not be given to the names, for like sounding Iranian names and folk etymologies may have intruded, and our material, I repeat, is too scanty to draw as full a picture as Kiessling has done.[16] In view of the information from later Arabic and Persian writers, it would seem that Iranian speakers were late in coming to Baluchistan, and that the southern and eastern parts of the country remained predominantly non-Iranian until the second millennium A.D. The very persistence of the Dravidian Brahuis to the present is evidence for the relatively late Iranicization of the land.[17]

To turn to the Islamic sources, the earliest accounts of the Baluchis are found in the Arabic geographies of the 10th century A.D. From them we may suppose that at the time of the Arab conquest of Iran the Baluchis were living in eastern Kirman, not having entered the more eastern province of Makrān.

The Baluchis are mentioned together with a people called *Kūfič*, and sometimes with the Kurds. In Arabic the Baluchis are called *Bulūṣ* and

[12] Cf. Grohmann's article in *PW*, 27 (1928), p. 615, where present Oman and Rās Masandum are identified with the name Μάκαι. The relation of the name Masqaṭ, however, is uncertain.

[13] E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster* (Princeton, 1947), p. 736.

[14] Art. "Gedrosia" (1910), p. 895.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 901.

[16] There may have been Iranian tribes in this area, but this is uncertain, and the unequivocal identification of the Oreitae "a sept of the Gedrosii" as Iranian by Tarn, *op. cit.*, 2, pp. 251, cannot be proved.

[17] Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 735, gives a list of unsatisfactory etymologies of names in this area. His, unfortunately, are little better than those of Kiessling.

the *Kūfič* are *Qufṣ*, with the characteristic voiceless spirant *ṣ* for the corresponding Iranian plosive *č*. *Kūfič* probably is a generic term for mountaineer; MP *kōfīk*, OP **kaufaka*, Av. *kaofa*.[18] The etymology of "Baluch", as with so many Iranian proper names, is uncertain. Herzfeld derived it from Median **brza -vačiya* "loud shouting", OP **brda.vačiya*,[19] which cannot claim any more real merit than Mockler's attempt to derive the name from ancient *Gedrosia*, the Γαδρώσια of the Greeks, *Baloch*< *Badrosh*<*Gedrosh*.[20] Herzfeld's attempts to derive Γαδρωσια from **vaδra.vij.iya* "mace swingers", from *kadrú* "sorrel", or from *gandarwa* : **gadarwačiya* are all unconvincing.[21]

The Baluchis seemed to have moved eastward in the 11th and 12th centuries under the impact of the Seljük invasion of Kirman. They spread throughout Makrān and Seistan and probably entered Sind in the time of the Mongols. In the 15th century, however, the Baluchis were split into two groups by the resurgent Brahui Khans of Kalāt. So a mass of Brahuis separated the Baluchis and two major dialects developed, the northern or eastern and the southern or western (Makrānī). The former was, of course, greatly influenced by Sindhi, the latter by Persian.

The legends of the Baluchis say they came from the west from Aleppo at the time of the Arab conquests.[22] This may be discounted as a popular attempt to attach themselves to history, much as the Afghans sometimes claim they are one of the lost tribes of Israel. Another indication of origin has been found in a misinterpretation of Firdausi's *Shāh Nāme*, where the Baluchis are joined with the people of Gīlān as enemies of Chosroes Anošarvan, the Sassanian king.[23] Actually the passages probably indicate the extent of the Sassanian monarch's wars, not that the two people lived side by side. Vague beliefs in a northwest origin, however, may reflect some knowledge of an actual migration.

The present distribution of Baluchis is primarily in Sind, Baluchistan proper, Seistan, southern Afghanistan, westwards along the coast of Makrān to Jask on the Indian ocean and north to Nishapur, Merv, and even wanderings beyond. There are names in the norther Kavir of Iran,

[18] Cf. H. H. Schaeder in *ZDMG*, 96 (1942), p. 129.
[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 735.
[20] Cf. G. W. Gilbertson, *The Balochi Language* (Hertford, 1923), p. vii.
[21] *Loc. cit.*
[22] M. Longworth Dames, *Popular Poetry of the Baloches* (London, 1907), and I. Zarubin, "K izučeniju Beludžskogo jazyka i Folklora", *Zapiski Koll. Vostokovedov*, 5 (1930).
[23] Cf. article "Balochistan", in *Encycl. of Islam*, 1st ed.

such as Balūch-āb, which reflect the presence of Baluchis there in historic times.[24]

LINGUISTIC SUPPORT FOR THE MIGRATION OF THE BALUCHIS

In the 19th century there was considerable interest in Balōčī by another generation of army officers stationed on the frontiers of India. Colonel E. Mockler, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Longworth-Dames, and others, did yeoman service in writing grammars, dictionaries, and compiling stories of the Baluchis. W. Geiger wrote on the etymology and phonology of Balōčī in his plan for an etymological dictionary of the Iranian languages. Since before World War I there has been little interest in Balōčī save the work of G. Morgenstierne. These scholars showed that Balōčī, in contrast to Pašto and other Iranian languages, has been very conservative in its phonetic change. In general it has preserved the Middle West Iranian vowel system, so many Balōčī words are almost identical with the MP forms; e.g. *rōč* "day", *brāt* "brother".

As Morgenstierne has indicated, generally speaking while Eastern Iranian languages have been exposed to the assimilation of consonant groups, Western Iranian languages have suffered the complete loss of ancient consonants; e.g. Pašto *ǧ* merges with *g*, in its turn from *k*, *ng*, etc.[25] In the Talyš dialect (on the West Caspian sea coast), for example, one finds *čo* for NP *čirāγ* "light", and *bo* for NP *birāder* "brother".

If we apply to Balōčī Benveniste's remarks that West Iranian (NP, etc.) has "light initial consonant groups", while East Iranian (Pašto, etc.) "heavy", then Balōčī clearly follows the former. (E.g. NP *dast*, Pašto *lās* "hand", NP *asp*, Pašto *ās* "horse".) Balōčī then is archaic and West Iranian, but where does it belong in relation to the Persian dialects?[26]

Balōčī as a "Northwest" rather than a "Southwest" dialect fits the distinctions worked out between the two groups by scholars.[27] For example:

[24] In passing it should be noted that Brahuis are to be found within the borders of Iran. Several villages exist near the Mešhed-Zāhidan road at Hurmuk, where Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran come together.

[25] G. Morgenstierne, "Archaisms and innovations in Pashto Morphology", *Norsk Tidskrift for Sprokvidenskap*, 12 (1942), p. 90.

[26] The two dialects of Balōčī differ little, mostly in phonetic changes, e.g. N. Balōčī aspirates the initial unvoiced plosives of Makrānī, as M. *tāp*, N. *t'āf* "heat"; M. *pād* is N. *p'āδ*; M. *kōpag* is N. *k'ofaγ* "shoulder".

[27] Generally NP words can be selected as a modern representative of a SW dialect.

a) NW initial *z-* for SW *δ-*. Balōčī has *zāmās* for NP *dāmād* "son-in-law", *zant-* for NP *dānestan* "to know", and *zirih* for NP *däryā* "sea".

b) NW intervocalic *-s-* for SW *-h-*. Balōčī has *asin* for NP *āhan* "iron", *āsk* for NP *āhū* "gazelle".

c) NW *rd/rz* for SW *l*. Balōčī has *burz* (Seistan Balōčī *borzak*) for NP *boland* "tall", *zirdē* for NP *dil* "heart".

d) NW *št* for SW *st*. Chābahār Balōčī *wošatin* for NP *īstādan* "to stand" (in Makrānī Balōčī *ōštatan*).

e) NW *ž* (*ǰ*) for SW *z*. Balōčī has *ǰan* for NP *zan* "woman" (Chābahār Balōčī *ǰen*), Seistan Balōčī has *ǰattin* for NP *zadan* "to give birth", Makrānī Balōčī *drāžād* (Chābahār B. *drāǰ*) for NP *dirāz* "long".

Let us turn to the dialects of the central deserts of Iran, Anarakī, Khūrī, and Farvī.[28] For the words just quoted Khūrī has a) *zumá, dezún*, b) *asoun, ask*, c) and d) borrowed from NP, e) *žən*. The central dialects are Persian dialects while those in part of Seistan and in Chābahār are Balōčī, but of all the Persian dialects I have heard, Khūrī and Farvī, especially the former, are nearest to Balōčī. One may tentatively say that the Baluchis en route to Kirman and Makrān settled for a time or passed slowly through the NW central desert region. I should like to mention some parallels between Balōčī and the Biyābānak dialects (Farvī and Khūrī). Obviously these are mere indications but they point to close contacts between the two in the past.[29]

Old Ir. *v*>NP *b* but *g* in Balōčī and Khūrī:

NP *biyābān*	K *giyawu*		ZB *giyabán*		"desert"
NP *bād*	A *vʿa*	K *γʿa*	ZB *gwad*	CB *gwat*	"wind"
NP *bāχtan*	K *gazion*		MB *gwazi*		"to play"
NP *bāft*	K *bigofti*		MB *gwapt*	CB *kapt*	"he wove"
NP *bāzī*	K *gazi*		MB *gwazi*		"play"
NP *bīst*	A *visa*		K *gis*	MB *gist*	"20"
NP *bištär*	A *vister*		K *gīšter*	MB and ZB *gīšter*	"more"

[28] K = Khūrī, A = Anarakī, F = Farvī, ZB = Zābol (Seistan) Balōčī, CB = Chābahār Balōčī, MB = general Makrān Balōčī. The bibliography for these dialects can be found in the article by G. Morgenstierne, "Neu-iranische Sprachen", *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden, 1958), p. 177. Other forms are from my notes made on an expedition in Iran 1951-1952. Prof. Georges Redard of the University of Bern will publish the results of dialect gleanings from our joint expedition.

[29] The system of transcription here is simple, and I only wish to draw attention to the diphthong *-ou-* in Khūrī, pronounced as two sounds; *-io-*, the same, and *-εi-* in CB.

Old Ir. χ>NP χ, but *k* in Khūrī and Balōčī:

NP *nāχun*	A *nahon*	K *nak'on*	MB *nakun*	ZB *nawōn*	"nail"
NP *χorūs*	A *χeros*	K *kirus*	MB *kurus*	ZB *kuros*	"cock"
NP *yaχ*		K *yak*	ZB *ahuk*	(also *áχə*)	"ice"

The development of OIr *hw-*, however is different:

NP	A	Farvi	K	ZB	CB	
χūn	*χīn*	*fīn*	*fin*	*huwn*	*hun*	"blood"
χwāher	*χ'o*	*fār*	*f'ar*	*gwār*	*gwāhār*	"sister"
χōršīd		*får*	*for̃*	*piɛtap*	*rouč*	"sun"

Also in verbs; "I ate" in Khūrī is *bīfardom*, in CB *mana warta*; "I read" in Khūrī is *årfånd̊åm*, and "I slept" is *bifåftóhum*, (*wapt* in CB). The verbs are more significant in showing relationship. The Balōčī present stem of "to see" is *gind-*; in ZB "I see, thou seest" is *mana gíndin, tau gíndi*, while in Khūrī we have *dīgīnəm, dīgīni* (in NP, MP and Parthian, the present root is *vīn-*). The verb "to sit" in Balōčī pres. stem, is *nind-*, and in Khūrī we have the present *hinivom, hinivi*, opposed to NP, MP and Parth. *nišī-*. The verb NP *šustan*, occurs in CB "I washed", *man šušta*, and in Khūrī *bišuštom*.

Many words are similar in Balōčī and Khūrī, and not found elsewhere, or rather where one would expect them. For example, Balōčī *gwabz* "wasp" CB *gwamz*, is *dåmz* in Khūrī (*godir̃* in ZB). The numeral "20", Balōčī *gīst*, is *gis* in Khūrī. "Egg" in CB is *hɛik* and in Khūrī *heig*; "goat" in CB is *pas*, in Khụrī *pås*; "lamb" in ZB is *gwarɛg*, in Khūrī *gɛr̃ó*; "better" in ZB is *gihtir*, in Khūrī *gyetår*. "Dog" is *kuyɛ* in Anarakī, *k-k* in ZB and *kočɛk* in CB. An interesting series is:

	NP	A	K	ZB	CB
"hungry"	*gursne*	*väšɛ*	*gɛši*	*gusneg*	*šuddig*
"thirsty"	*tursne*	*šəhid*	*šɛhīd*	*tunág*	*tonig*

Obviously more material is needed and further work in this direction is indicated, but I believe the linguistic support for the historical connections between the Baluchis and the people of the central deserts in the northern Kavir is at hand.

THE ABBASID CONSPIRACY' AND MODERN REVOLUTIONARY THEORY

Indo-Iranica, Volume Five, Jan. 1952 Number Three.

THE 'ABBASID CONSPIRACY' AND MODERN REVOLUTIONARY THEORY

By Richard N. Frye, ph.d.,

Assistant Professor of Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A.

WITHIN recent years a number of scholars have contributed valuable studies to an ever-increasing literature on the subject of "revolutions", in an attempt to discover whether there is a general law of revolution. My colleague Crane Brinton, of Harvard University, in a book entitled " The Anatomy of Revolution", has come to four general conclusions, which are ·

1. In the pre-revolutionary period the fundamental ideologies of the ruling class are under constant attack, but the danger point occurs when the members of the ruling class begin to confess the justice of the attacks and to doubt the validity of their established position. Brinton calls this phase, " the desertion of the intellectuals", or one might say, " the failure of will power in the ruling class".
2. The old government which is destroyed is characterized not by tyranny but by weakness. The discovery, in a series of inner crises, of governmental ineptitude encourages the opposition to increase its provocations until the showdown occurs.
3. As the pre-revolutionary period reaches its climax the citizens of the state, who have hitherto benefited, withdraw their loyalty and support until power ceases to exist. As the power to coerce fades, the passive consent of the governed is withdrawn.
4. There is not in all history a single instance of a successful revolution which began as a spontaneous rising of the lower classes. Revolutions are led by men with the leisure, talent, and money to engage in political activity—men for whom the existing society through curbs and restrictions provides no outlet or opportunities for the realization of their ordinary ambitions. They are victims of a squeeze. For them the state no longer has a purpose; instead it has become a barrier.

The usual explanation of the 'Abbasid revolution mentions three fundamental causes: the conflict of the idea of the state with the ideal of tribal individualism, the conflict of monarchy with theocracy, and the conflict of the Arabs with the non-Arab Muslims, who were a submerged class demanding equal political, economic and social rights with the Arabs.

I do not deny the validity of much of this interpretation, except in the last point. Nor are these points incompatible with the thesis of Brinton.

Nevertheless, it occurred to me that it would be an instructive exercise to investigate the validity of the modern theory of revolution applied to the last decade and a half of Umayyad rule.

Umayyad political theory held that the caliphate was a divinely ordained institution and that the community in giving an oath of allegiance to a designated man was fulfilling God's will and direct inspiration. The caliph, once so elected, could not be questioned. As Walid II put it, " God appoints them his caliphs and no one can oppose their rights without being thrown down by God . . . nor despise the government of the caliphs, nor dispute the judgement of God in his caliphs." (Tabarī II, 757). The duty of the caliph was the protection of the community in peace and in war and the fulfilment of all of God's wishes. This aim could be attained only by unity, and the oft-repeated metaphor of the united Muslim community was the strong binding rope of the government. As the caliph Hishām said, " The unity of the community is the strong rope of God and his true religion and the firmest thing to which one clings." (Tabarī II, 1682). In order to fulfil the commandment of obedience to God in a concrete, practical manner, it was necessary to obey God's chosen agent, the caliph. The divine nature of the caliphate impressed an indelible mark on the caliph himself and made him immune from unbelief. " He who has stood in the caliphate for three days will never enter the fire of Hell," said Hishām (Tabarī II, 1747). The caliph could not be questioned for any wicked conduct. This doctrine was based on Surah II, 29, البقرة "When God said to his angels, 'Verily I am about to place one in my stead on the earth.' They said, 'Will you place on earth one who will do evil therein and shed blood while we celebrate your praise and extol your holiness?' God answered, ' Verily, I know what ye know not.' " The legitimate caliph had to have three qualifications: the oath of recognition and allegiance by the community, full manhood, and pure blood. The oath, once given, could never be revoked.

There can be no doubt that these doctrines had been formulated under the press of circumstances. The process began with Mu'awiya and was fulfilled under Hishām. The doctrines formed the inevitable foundation, the only secure foundation, on which the state could exist. Without them the Umayyad dynasty had no legitimacy, no stability. Their preservation was the cardinal principle of the elder statesmen. Indeed Hishām's last years were made sorrowful by the realization that he could not do violence to the oath given to the worthless Walīd II as his successor.

The political opposition of the Kharijites was based on the doctrine that sin constituted unbelief—that a caliph who sinned was an unbeliever and consequently should be deposed, and that money raised by taxes should be divided equally among all believers. The acceptance of these principles would be a fatal blow to the constitutional basis of the state and to its practical activities. The Aliid thesis, of course, was that the caliph must belong to the family of the prophet. The ' Abbasids found it politically expedient to adopt both Kharijite and Aliid doctrines as it suited their purpose.

Consequently when Yazīd III projected the murder of his cousin Walīd II for his sins, the full implications of the deed were apparent to the outstanding Umayyads. Marwān wrote to his agent, " What they are attempting will result in the loss of God forever and the destruction of the government. Hasten to dissuade them while the rope is yet taut." (Ṭabarī, II, 1786-7).

More remarkable than the murder, however, was the justification given by Yazīd III in a speech in Damascus. Yazīd offered to yield to another more righteous man, if such could be found. He then said, " I have revolted as the avenger of God and of his prophet and of his religion, calling you to God, to His Book and to the Sunna of the prophet. If I fulfil not my duties then it is up to you to depose me. O men, obedience is obedience to God. You should obey the caliph while he obeys God, but if he disobeys God then he in turn deserves to be disobeyed and killed." (Ṭabarī, II, 1835).

The position of Kharijitism, indeed of all opposition to Umayyad constitutional theory, is nowhere more succinctly expressed than in this speech by an Umayyad caliph. More surprising yet was the address from the mimbar which Yazīd ordered his governor in Iraq to deliver in his inaugural sermon. It was a carefully argued statement of the right of revolution, and it destroyed every vestige of Umayyad pretensions. The legitimacy of the state was denied. At one blow the old political ideology crumbled and it was impossible to restore it. Although Yazīd's victory was a Yemenite triumph, even Yemenite sentiment in Syria understood the full implications of what had happened and revolted at the act, especially in Hims where Yemenite leaders called on Marwān ibn Muhammad to avenge the murder of Walīd and to restore to the caliphate the legitimate son of Walīd. Had Marwān been able to forgo ambition, and had he been true to his former principles, the situation might have been saved after Yazīd died, but Marwān's temptation overcame his scruples. By force of arms and a dubious constitutional argument based on the hearsay testimony of one man, Marwān, son of a slave on his mother's side, usurped the caliphate. His policy of conciliation was a failure and he was driven to acts of violence. From the beginning to the end he had not the support of a single Umayyad, and the leaders of the ruling classes did not hesitate to ally themselves both with the Kharijites and the Shi'ites. The third Syrian civil war shattered the source of Umayyad military power, and the universal withdrawal of support and loyalty by the ruling class led to the inevitable ruin of the Umayyad cause.

The second law of revolution is that when members of the old regime doubt the validity of their principles they proceed to fatal acts of weakness and conciliation. Ineffectuality is the result. Let me cite three examples.

To give effect to his high ideals Yazīd III nominated to the post once held by al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf, the son of the pious caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, a person best characterized by the phrase once applied to an English Prime Minister, " He was a good man in the worst sense of the word." 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar was simple, amiable and downright stupid. We have not the space here to examine his career in detail. He began by dividing the

stipend among all the Muslims, provoking the Syrian governor to exclaim, " Do you divide our stipends among these people when they are our enemies?" (Ṭabarī, I, 1854). ' Abdallāh ibn ' Umar abandoned the project. Next he decided to pay the Qaisite troops and cut off the pay of the Kalbites. When the latter protested he paid them secretly to save face. In a period of ten months (July 744-April 745) he appointed and dismissed eight governors of Kufa. As Ṭabarī says, " When the Shi'ites perceived ibn ' Umar's weakness they blamed him and got courage to act against him." (Ṭabarī, II, 1883). The Shi'ite leader ibn Mu'awiya enjoyed the support of prominent Umayyads, but by good luck ibn ' Umar defeated him. Instead of putting him to death the governor gave him a pardon on condition he would leave Iraq and never return. Ibn Mu'awiya departed with his army, conquered the province of Fars and ruled it for three years.

The conduct of affairs in Iraq prompted the Kharijites to revolt under the leadership of Dhahhak. Instead of acting with vigour ibn 'Umar temporized. Presently Sulaimān, son of the caliph Hishām, committed treason and openly saluted Dhahhak as caliph, thus causing a tremendous political sensation in Iraq. This Kharijite revolt was directly responsible for the revolt in Khurasan. While it was in progress neither Marwān nor ibn Hubaira could send reinforcements to the east. When the Kharijite revolt was finally suppressed the government forces were exhausted.

The second example is Naṣr ibn Sayyār, governor of Khurasan. He was a man of neutral tribal affiliations, and in his early career a successful administrator. One of the Yemenite party sang:

> " You have levelled Khurasan smoothly for the Muslims
>
> And if the men of Khurasan have united you have spent the taxes for this union. We will fulfil our covenant with you ;
>
> And we have given our oath of allegiance not in haste, for we meant it." (Ṭabarī II 1047-8).

Naṣr, however, did not escape the consequences either of Yazīd's act, or of his politics, and the governor himself turned soft. Instead of treating with the severity he deserved a political opponent al-Kirmānī, he released him from prison. It was said of al-Kirmānī that if he were not able to gain political power without the aid of Christians and Jews, he would by God become a Christian or a Jew. Next Naṣr recalled that arch-traitor to the Arabs, al-Hārith ibn Suraij from his exile among the idol worshippers. He gave al-Hārith a liberal pension and generous gifts which al-Hārith employed to hire a private army. When inevitable war broke out between al-Hārith and al-Kirmānī, the governor, instead of keeping the peace of the state, evacuated the capital Merv to let the two fight it out. A series of diplomatic blunders lost forever all Yemenite support in Khurasan for the Umayyads. At the same time there was no continued support from the tribe of Mudhar, and thus Abū Muslim's victory was made possible.

The third example is the political leniency of the caliph Marwān to his real enemies—the conspirators among the house of the prophet. Even after the conspiracy was revealed in full Marwān did no more than arrest the most important conspirator, Ibrāhīm.

The great fault of Umayyad rule was that its destruction came by the conciliation and not the suppression of its enemies. The Umayyad caliphs were acutely aware of public opinion and were seeking to win it in their attempt to compromise the concept of the state with the Islamic customs. The result was that the Arabs, who accused the state of seeking to destroy the Arab ideal, themselves by revolution lost under the 'Abbasids those very things they cherished most, those liberties which the Umayyads were actually trying to preserve for them.

Finally we come to the role played by the Iranians. With the beginning of the second governorship of Khalīd al-Kharāji until the fall of Naṣr ibn Sayyār, Khurasan enjoyed an enlightened rule that was unique in its history. Inequalities in taxation were remedied, non-Muslims experienced justice, local people were named to high office, and the frontiers were secured. If the Iranians revolted why did they do so after a decade of increasing prosperity, after a decade of wise rule?

Furthermore, why did the 'Abbasids choose Khurasan as the centre of their propaganda? It is my belief that the 'Abbasids, as Arabs, had no intention of overthrowing Arab rule and replacing it with Iranian rule. They knew too, that only Arab warriors had the ability to overthrow an Arab regime. Where were such fighters to be found? Obviously not in Syria which was too loyal to the Umayyads. Not in Iraq which was demonstrably too fickle. Not in Egypt which was too contented. Not in Africa which was too remote. There remained only Khurasan. There were Arabs living in a climate more bracing than Iraq, trained in constant fighting on the frontiers to a life of war, not corrupted by the indolence of peace and luxury. The one and only object of the 'Abbasid conspiracy was to win over the support of the Arab tribes in Khurasan. And this end would never have been attained if Arab tribal pride had been humiliated by a specious plea of equal rights for the Iranian Muslims.

From the years 100 to 125 of the Hijra the 'Abbasid cause had won over only seventy men, all residing in districts around Merv, the capital of Khurasan. Yearly these men contributed twenty per cent of their incomes for a war fund. Twelve of them are mentioned as leaders. Of these twelve, six were of Yemen, four of Tamīn, one is uncertain. The last was a *maulā*. Much is made of the activity of this *maulā*—Abu Muslim. Nevertheless a careful study reveals that the *mawālī* acted not in terms of Iranian nationalism, but as loyal clients of their patrons. The Iranian *mawāli* of Naṣr ibn Sayyār and of the Umayyad leaders were as loyal to them as the Iranian *mawāli* of Sulaimān ibn Kathir and the other conspirators were loyal to their patrons. Ṭabarī cites a conspicuous example of the utter failure of Abū Muslim to detach from their allegiance Naṣr's *mawāli*. At the outset Abū Muslim had

only 3000 men, and when Qaḥṭaba took command the 'Abbasid force numbered only 7,000. This force represented about the number of personal *mawāli* and recruits that the conspirators had the money to hire. In all of the futile negotiations between the conspirators and the Umayyads Abū Muslim was kept in the background. It was Sulaimān ibn Kathīr who first unfurled the Black Flag and who presided over the conference with the delegates of Naṣr ibn Sayyār. The commanders of the 'Abbasid forces were almost all Arabs. The first appointments to administrative positions by the revolutionary government were Arabs. Finally, we have the evidence, the significance of which was first noted by the British orientalist H. A. R. Gibb, that Transoxiana remained loyal to the Umayyad cause, and when the 'Abbasids took Balkh, they were later expelled and the Umayyad governor was restored by the native population; and the same in Ṭukharistan. When Nihavand finally capitulated to Qaḥṭaba, he granted *aman* only to the Arab defenders, and put the *mawāli*, who had fought for the Umayyads to the sword.

In sum, there is no evidence in the history of the 'Abbasid conspiracy to explain their revolution as an Iranian uprising. It is true that the more 'Abbasid revolt gained in momentum the more the role of the *mawālī* gained in importance, and it is known that Iranian influence became predominant in the new dynasty. But this was certainly not the intent of the revolutionary leaders. Thus, as those Frenchmen who fought for *liberté, fraternité et egalité* got Robespierre and Napoleon, as the constitutional reformers of England got Cromwell, as German industrialists got Hitler, as the Trotskyites got Stalin, so too late the Arab leaders got something for which they had not bargained. As Sulaimān ibn Kathīr said, "God damn Abū Muslim and make his face as black as a cluster of grapes. We dug a river with our hands, but another let the water in."

THE ROLE OF ABŪ MUSLIM IN THE ʿABBĀSID REVOLT

The Moslem World, vol. XXXVII, Hartford, Conn., 1947.

THE ROLE OF ABŪ MUSLIM IN THE 'ABBĀSID REVOLT

The subject of the fall of the Umayyad caliphate, and the founding of 'Abbāsid power, has produced a mass of literature from the time of the 'Abbāsids to the present. It is a long and involved narrative which tells of this revolt, but the essential historical facts are known and have been clarified.[1] There are, of course, still phases of the 'Abbāsid movement which remain to be interpreted. One important factor was the role of Abū Muslim, the missionary of the 'Abbāsids to Khurasan where the revolt first achieved success. We shall be concerned here with the person of Abū Muslim, the nature of his mission, mainly as exemplified by his actions, and the relation of Arabs and non-Arab Muslims in Khurasan at the time of the uprising against the Umayyad Governor.

The origin of Abū Muslim cannot definitely be determined from Islamic sources.[2] Whether he was a Persian from Isfahan or Kufa, or had Arab blood in his veins, is immaterial, for his deeds were in accord with the saying of the prophet: "The Arab is not to be preferred over the non-Arab, nor the latter over the former, except in piety (before) God."[3]

It is probable that Abū Muslim spoke both Arabic and

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[1] Especially by Wellhausen, J., *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, English translation with index, Calcutta 1927. References are made to the English translation.

[2] Only the Turkish edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, article Ebû Muslim, cüz 29, 1945, 39, has the following: "Many historians agree that he served a chief of the tribe of 'Ajl, Ma'qil ibn Idrīs, one of the notables of Kufa. Idrīs gave him, as a present, to Muhammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Abbās, and the latter entrusted him to his son and successor Ibrāhīm. Abū Muslim married a daughter of Abū'l Najm 'Umrān ibn Ismā'īl, a relative of Ibrāhīm." This marriage must have strengthened his position as leader of the 'Abbāsids in Khurasan. I have been unable to find the sources for every statement above, but some are found in Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Qutaiba's *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, F., Göttingen 1850, 214-5.

[3] *Ibn Wādhih qui dicitur al-Ja'qubī Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, M., Leiden 1883, II, 123, 4.

Persian with equal ease,[4] and he had friends and enemies among both peoples. That he was acquainted with the Middle Persian literature, is to be inferred from a remark he made when declining to visit the new 'Abbāsid caliph Manṣūr, in whose presence he later met his death.[5] This does not mean that Abū Muslim was a pro-Iranian protagonist; rather, till the time of his death, he was a staunch supporter of the 'Abbāsid cause and always a good Muslim. To promote the success of the cause he was not averse to enlisting the aid of various factions, and he was not above deceit to gain his ends. The somewhat unscrupulous, and sometimes ruthless, methods, employed to gain power, as well as the heresies which arose after his death, and which were connected with his name, have obscured the figure of Abū Muslim. Barthold says, "In his religious propaganda Abū Muslim seems to have amalgamated the doctrines of Islam with ancient popular beliefs, particularly with that of metempsychosis, and to have pretended to be an incarnation of the divinity."[6] Another scholar proposed, "We do not clearly know what promises or teachings Abū Muslim gave to bring the masses over to Islam, but we may assert with some probability that the idea of the incarnation of God in Muḥammad, in 'Alī and his descendants, or finally in Abū Muslim himself, played the leading role."[7] These statements may apply to some of his followers, especially after his death, but there is no substantial evidence to show that Abū Muslim was either a heretic or anti-Muslim. It is quite true that the "mahdi-messiah" idea was deeply rooted in Zoroastrianism, and the history of Iran throughout the ages has revealed the receptivity of the people for a deliverer.[8] It does not necessarily follow, however, that

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[4] *Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary*, trans. M. De Slane, Paris 1843, II, 103. (The text was unavailable.)

[5] "One reads in the books of the Persians that when the empire is at peace, and the king has no more enemies to combat, a vezir should not approach the person of the king." Zotenberg, H., *Chronique de Tabari*, Paris 1874, IV, 355. (Persian text, Lucknow edition, does not contain this.)

[6] *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (English), art. Abū Muslim.

[7] Rosen, V., review of Sachau's edition of al-Bīrūnī's India, in *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Russ. Arkh. Ova.*, St. Petersburg 1889, III, 156, note.

[8] Nyberg, A. H., Die Religionen des alten Iran,, *Mitt. der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesell.* 43, Leipzig 1938, 267, 305.

Abū Muslim favored a religion other than Islam, or sought to compromise his Islam by mixing it with Iranian beliefs. He suppressed the revolt of the Zoroastrian (?) Bih Afrīd.[9] At the time of the revolt of the latter, Magian priests came to Abū Muslim and complained that this heretic and rebel had infected Islam as well as their own religion, implying that they, as representatives of the Iranian religion, were opposed to him, and Abū Muslim, as the champion of Islam, should also oppose him.[10]

Van Vloten asserts that the triumph of Abū Muslim was due in great measure to the Shi'ites who supported him.[11] This again does not mean that Abū Muslim was a partisan of the Shi'a, even though he readily accepted their aid in time of need. Furthermore, if the partisans of the Shi'a were so numerous and powerful in the ranks of Abū Muslim's armies, he would not have been able to suppress them so easily as he did after the fall of Umayyad power in Khurasan. In the Arabic histories, to my knowledge, Abū Muslim is nowhere condemned as an infidel or a heretic. His Umayyad enemies had every opportunity to call him a rebel against Islam, or to denounce him as a heretic, but such is not the case. When Manṣūr had him assassinated, the caliph did not accuse him of heresy, which would have been a good justification for his murder. It is true that, on the whole, the histories are pro-'Abbāsid, but Abū Muslim had many enemies, among them a caliph. In several histories he is called "the faithful one of the family of the prophet."[12] The stories about his deeds, albeit preserved in the works of later writers, show no trace of heresy, rather they portray him as a righteous, if severe, man.[13] The mission of Abū Muslim was to convert

[9] Cf. Justi, F., *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 348.

[10] Sachau, E., *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, Bīrūnī, text, Leipzig 1878, 211, 3; English trans., London 1879, 194.

[11] Van Vloten, G., *Recherches sur la Domination arabe, etc.*, Amsterdam 1894, 33.

[12] Zotenberg, *op. cit.* IV, 328. Mas ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. and trans. C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris 1871, VI, 136.

[13] Shihāb al-dīn al-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, Cairo 1929, VII, 253-5.

'Iqd al-Farīd of Ibn Abī Rabbihi, Cairo 1305/1887, II, 267, line 19. Cf. M. Shafi', *Analytical Indices to the Kitāb al-'Ikd al-Farīd*, Calcutta 1935, I, lxi, for pagination of other editions.

the people of Khurasan, especially the Arabs there, to the Abbāsid cause. In the struggle he accepted the aid of all who were opposed to the Umayyad rulers. It was in no sense an anti-Islamic movement, for it was only during the time of Abū Muslim that Khurasan became definitely converted to Islam. Many of the local aristocracy (*dihqāns*) may have accepted Islam from Abū Muslim himself. A writer of the third century of the Hijra says, "The faith of the Magians fell from the *dihqāns,* and they accepted Islam in the time of Abū Muslim, and this change (of religion) was like the change of state" (from the Umayyads to the 'Abbāsids).[14] This last phrase indicates the importance of the converting activities of Abū Muslim. There was a group of the followers of Abū Muslim who took the name *kāfir-kūbāt,* and may have used clubs to convert the infidels, as their name implied.[15] It is true that many heretics, mainly Shi'ites, erstwhile Zoroastrians, and others joined the army of Abū Muslim. Some of them even rose to prominence, such as Khālid ibn Barmak from Balkh, who held important posts in the government under the caliph Mansūr.[16] While heretics supported him, and infidels may have, there is no evidence that the latter flocked to his standard in large numbers, for Abū Muslim was quite strict, and especially would not tolerate apostasy. The ruler of Bukhara, the Bukhar khudāh, who aided the troops of Abū Muslim in suppressing a Shi'ite revolt in that city, lost his life because of his apostasy from Islam.[17] It is said that Bih Afrīd accepted Islam from Abū Muslim and then apostasized to lead a Zoroastrian revolt.[18] So one could hardly call Abū Muslim pro-Zoroastrian or anti-Muslim.

While the righteousness and the religious motives of the Abbāsid revolt have been emphasized by later pro-'Abbāsid

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[14] Ibn Abī Ṭaifūr, Cod. Mus. Brit. Add 7473, foll. 60a (unavailable), quoted by Rosen, *op. cit.*, 156.

[15] Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, ed. V. Guirgass, Leiden 1888, 360, 3. *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of al-Iṣfahānī, Bulaq 1868, IV 93, 21. Cf. G. von Grünebaum, Persische Wörter in arabischen Gedichten, *Le Monde Orientale* 31, 1937, 20.

[16] Ṭabarī II, 1964, 3; 2001, 11; *T'arīkh-i-Barāmikah* by Mirzā 'Abd al-Aẓīm Gurgānī, Tehran 1313/1935, 19, 23 of introduction.

[17] Narshakhī, *T'arīkh-i-Bukhārā*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1892, 8, last line.

[18] Cf. Houtsma, M. T., Bih 'afrid, *WZKM*, Vienna 1889, III, 30-7.

historians, especially al-Mas'ūdī, the revolt of Abū Muslim does seem to have had some aspects of a religious crusade. It was constantly asserted by the 'Abbāsid partisans that this was a true Islamic movement in support of the house of the prophet against the irreligious usurpers, the Umayyads.[19] Indeed Ṭabarī indicates that the Iranian Muslims (*mawāli*-clients) did not join the fighting in Khurasan unless it were for religious reasons.[20] The call for a religious crusade against the Umayyads probably had little effect on the Arab tribes in Khurasan; it seems to have had an effect on the new Iranian converts. The chance to fight the *ruling* Arabs under the banner of Islam also probably had more of an appeal for the *mawāli* than any theory of metempsychosis.

If Abū Muslim were a staunch Muslim, how could one account for the heresies and revolts which probably smouldered during his lifetime to blossom forth after his death? From the Islamic histories and accounts of sects we find the revolts of Sinbādh the Magian, Isḥāq the Turk, the Rāwandis, Ustādhīs, and Muqanna' bound with the name of Abū Muslim.[21] These movements all occurred in Iran or Central Asia, and most of them reflected Iranian, anti-Muslim sentiments. This brings us to the question of the relation of Arabs and non-Arab Muslims in Khurasan at the time of the 'Abbāsid revolt. Although it was primarily a political and social revolt, the religious factors cannot be disregarded, for they were all inextricably intertwined.

The causes of the fall of the Umayyad caliphate were many, for the government had many enemies. It is not the purpose here to discuss this involved subject, but merely to examine the 'Abbāsid mission and its chief in Khurasan, Abū Muslim. In spite of the assertion that the 'Abbāsid caliphate was supported by the Iranians, as the Umayyads were by the Syrians, and the characterization of the 'Abbāsid caliphate as an Iranian dynasty by some Muslim authors,[22] there is no

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[19] Zotenberg, *op. cit.* IV, 330.

[20] Ṭabarī II, 1291, 9.

[21] On these uprisings cf. Browne, E. G., *A Literary History of Persia*, London 1902, I, 308-24.

[22] Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, text 213, bottom; trans. 197. For further references cf. Goldziher, I., *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle 1889, 1, 148.

evidence that the 'Abbāsids intended to support the Iranians against the Arabs when the missionaries were first sent out. The propaganda was directed at Arabs as well as Iranians, for it was very important to win over the Arab military power in Khurasan to the 'Abbāsid cause. According to one story, before Abū Muslim departed from Iraq for Khurasan, he had changed his name to Abū Muslim at the request of the 'Abbāsid Imām, who said, "Change thy name or else our enterprise will not succeed."[23] The 'Abbāsids had to win over the discontented Arabs of Khurasan in order to succeed, even though these Arabs would not provide the bulk of the fighting force. In Khurasan the Iranian-Muslims were far more constant and reliable than the Arabs, who played politics and shifted sides whenever their interests could better be served. The people of Khurasan *became* the backbone and main-stay of Abū Muslim's forces, but at first the Arabs were the main object of the 'Abbāsid appeal.[24]

Abū Muslim was not able to come into the open or accomplish anything till the main Arab tribes of Yemen and Mudar (the latter supporting the Umayyad governor Naṣr ibn Sayyār) were at war with one another. This came to pass in 129/747.[25] It was imperative for Abū Muslim to split the Arab tribes from one another, not so that the Iranians could then seize power, but rather to win the support of a strong Arab tribal faction in order to succeed. The position of the Umayyad governor was weak because of the inter-tribal en-

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[23] Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.* II, 100. His name was 'Abd al-Rahmān.

[24] The enthusiasm and devotion of the non-Arab Muslims for Abū Muslim were unbounded, while the Arabs were lukewarm and uncertain. Browne, E. G., *op. cit.*, 243-4.

[25] D. C. Dennett Jr., *Marwan ibn Muhammad, the passing of the Umayyad Caliphate*, unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard U. 1939, proposes that Arab tribal problems, the assertion of their essential spirit of independence among the Arabs, and the hatred of Umayyad discipline by [illegible]rabs, brought about the fall of the Umayyad caliphate, while the Iranian *m[illegible]i* blindly followed their Arab masters. Religion and the Iranians, however, did [illegible]lay a part, and an important one, in the downfall of the Umayyads. Dennett [illegible] probably right in his opinion that the Umayyads were overthrown by eve[illegible]s in Iraq and Syria more than by the revolt in Khurasan, but could the 'Abbāsids have succeeded without the army of Khurasan? Probably not. While the army of Khurasan may have had many Arab leaders, when it defeated Marwān on the Zāb river banks, it was predominantly an army of Iranians. The role of the Iranians may have been emphasized too much by some scholars of the last century, but the pendulum should not swing far to the other side, to the Arabs. Both elements were important.

mities, and many hostile factions among the Arabs. Naṣr tried to win the friendship and allegiance of al-Karmānī, leader of the Yemenites, but he failed, and Abū Muslim succeeded.

It is unnecessary to go into detail to show that the Arabs in Khurasan did not consist of an isolated ruling class which excluded all Iranians from participation in the rule.[26] The non-Arabs did not flock to Abū Muslim as their leader against the Arabs, but only against Umayyad rule. True, some may have joined him in expectation of the former, but they were soon disillusioned. The Arabs seem to have mingled well with the local population. They observed local customs, and spoke the local language, while the local people accepted Islam, and other things from the Arabs.[27] There were many Iranians who fought for the Umayyads against Abū Muslim, so the movement led by Abū Muslim cannot be interpreted as a call to the non-Arabs to rise against the Arabs.[28]

How did Abū Muslim succeed? We have said that he had to win over a large Arab faction in order to be able to oppose the Umayyad governor. He won over al-Karmānī to his cause by a diplomatic move, for Abū Muslim gave al-Karmānī the impression that he was joining him to support the cause of Yemen against Muḍar. Abū Muslim, on his encounter with al-Karmānī, said nothing of the 'Abbāsids, but saluted al-Karmānī as *amīr* (governor) of Khurasan.[29] The Khārijites, and their leader Ibn Shaibān, were also estranged from Naṣr, the Umayyad governor.[30] Until the final break of Yemen and Muḍar, however, Abū Muslim was in a precarious position, for an agreement might be reached to unite and crush him. Once hostilities had begun Abū Muslim applied *divide et impera* and soon won the struggle.

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[26] *Mawālī* were active in government service under the Umayyads as well as the 'Abbāsids; cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.* I, 214-5.

[27] Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 493-6.

[28] The people of Balkh, Tirmidh, and Ṭukhāristān united with the Muḍarites and fought against Abū Dāūd, lieutenant of Abū Muslim on several occasions. Ṭabarī II, 1997, 11.

[29] Ṭabarī II, 1967, 15.

[30] Ṭabarī II, 1956, 6, and 1995, 18; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. C. J. Tornberg V, 281, 11-18.

To return to the subject of the nature of the 'Abbāsid mission; an interesting letter from Ibrāhīm, the 'Abbāsid Imām, to Abū Muslim was intercepted by the Umayyads. Ṭabarī tells the story:[31] "Naṣr wrote to Marwān, informing him of the news of Abū Muslim, of his appearance and strength, and how he preached on behalf of Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad. Then Marwān came upon (another) letter, for a messenger of Abū Muslim to Ibrāhīm came to him (Marwān). He was returning from Ibrāhīm, and had a letter from Ibrāhīm for Abū Muslim, an answer to his (Abū Muslim's) letter. In it he cursed Abū Muslim and slandered him, since he did not take advantage of Naṣr and al-Karmānī when they offered him the opportunity. He ordered him (Abū Muslim) not to let any Arab remain alive in Khurasan." This last sentence repeats a command of Ibrāhīm, who earlier said to Abū Muslim, "Kill anyone whom you suspect, and who is suspicious in his affair. You can see to it that there is not left in Khurasan a speaker of Arabic."[32] This was repeated by later Muslim authors as evidence of the anti-Arab sentiment of the 'Abbāsid movement.[33] Van Vloten accepts this and other evidence, such as the verses of Naṣr ibn Sayyār to Marwān, to show that the 'Abbāsid movement was anti-Arab and meant death to the Arabs.[34] This is certainly not true, whatever some Iranian followers of the 'Abbāsids, or the Umayyad partisans may have thought. The authenticity of the order of Ibrāhīm to Abū Muslim to kill all Arabs is to be doubted. It indicates the feeling of later Arab writers in regard to the Shu'ūbīya, i.e., the sentiments of non-Arab Muslims to gain equal, if not superior, status to the Arab Muslims. It seems that the true contents of this letter of Ibrāhīm to Abū Muslim were more in accord with the story in the *Jawāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt* of Muḥammad 'Aufī, which tells of the precaution of the Imām Ibrāhīm in ordering Abū Muslim to kill *all pos-*

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[31] Ṭabarī II, 1974, 5-11. It is repeated III, 25, 3-5.

[32] Ṭabarī II, 1937, 13.

[33] Cf. *'Iqd al-Farīd* of Ibn Abī Rabbihi, op. cit. II, 278, 8-9. Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 358, 14-5.

[34] Van Vloten, G., *De Opkomst der Abbasiden in Chorasan*, Leiden 1890, 103, where references to Arabic sources are given. Cf. also Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 534.

sible claimants to the caliphate in Khurasan.[35] Ṭabarī says that the Hāshimite Arabs were an important group in the army of Abū Muslim,[36] and many of the commanders, such as Abū Dāūd, were Arabs. Wellhausen has explained the situation well when he says that it was not the Arabs *per se*, but the ruling Arabs who were the enemies of the 'Abbāsids.[37]

A strong argument to support the contention that Abū Muslim was pro-Iranian and anti-Arab, might be derived from the actions of Abū Muslim after he had driven Naṣr ibn Sayyār from Khurasan and secured victory for the 'Abbāsids. Abū Muslim then smashed the Khārijites, whose leader Ibn Shaibān was murdered in Sarākhs.[38] The Yemenite chiefs were murdered by Abū Dāūd, Abū Muslim's right-hand man (an Arab) in the city of Balkh, while Abū Muslim himself eliminated the son and successor of al-Karmānī.[39] The revolt of the Shi'ites in Bukhara was also ruthlessly suppressed. Narshakhī says, "There was an Arab who lived in Bukhara, who was a brave man. He held the Shi'a faith and urged the people to support the children of the amīr of the faithful 'Alī. He said, 'We are now free from the affliction of the Marwānids. The plague of the house of 'Abbās is not necessary for us; the children of the prophet must be the successors of the prophet.' "[40] He further tells us that most of the people of the city joined this Arab to fight Abū Muslim, but the Arabs were in control of the city, while in the surrounding estates there was not an Arab, and there the local people joined Abū Muslim's forces.[41] This does not change our contention that the main objective of Abū Muslim was to suppress anyone who might oppose the 'Abbāsids, be he Arab or 'Ajam.

We have found nothing in the life story of Abū Muslim

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[35] Muḥ. Niẓām ud-Dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmi' u'l-Ḥikāyāt* of Muḥ. 'Awfī, E.J.W. Gibb New Series 8, London 1929, 204, serial 1415.
[36] Ṭabarī II, 1987, 18-20.
[37] Wellhausen 535.
[38] Ṭabarī II, 1996, 16-8. Here the Arabs are fighting on both sides.
[39] Ṭabarī II, 2000, 2-4.
[40] Narshakhī, *op. cit.* 60 (bottom)-61.
[41] *Ibid.* 61, 14; 62, 4.

to conclude that he was not a good Muslim. His name was not adopted for nothing. He knew how to keep silent and calm, a necessary quality in the presence of the various opposing factions in Khurasan. He is described as a very astute, calm and quiet individual.[42] When asked how he had managed to attain such a high position, he replied that it was by keeping things to himself, patience, and not revealing any secrets.[43] Hence one might suppose that many Iranian groups took Abū Muslim's silence as support for their ideas and doctrines. Certainly he became, and remained to the present, a great Iranian hero, and in the minds of some heretics, divine. The large number of stories and romances about Abū Muslim, which have been preserved, testify to the strong impression which he made on the minds of the Persians.[44] According to Ibn Ḥazm, and others, Abū Muslim was a messiah to many of the Iranians, a theory which Van Vloten accepts.[45] This was hardly in the mind or intentions of Abū Muslim.

To recapitulate, Abū Muslim was not pro-Iranian or anti-Muslim, but loyally pro-'Abbāsid and a good Muslim. He was first a political man, whose objective was the overthrow of Umayyad power, and, at the beginning he probably was not too particular who helped him. I have found no evidence, contrary to Barthold, that Abū Muslim himself tried to make a fusion of Islamic and Iranian beliefs. It is to be doubted that he compromised his Islam.

At the beginning of the 'Abbāsid revolt it was far more important to win the Arabs to the cause than the Iranians. In spite of the references in later literature, the poem sent by Naṣr ibn Sayyār to Marwān, and other indications, the 'Ab-

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[42] Ibn Khallikān II, 103-4.

[43] *Le Livre des Beautes et des Antithèses* attribué à Abu Othman al-Djahiz, ed. Van Vloten, Leiden 1898, 29, 3-4.

[44] There are a large number of mss. of legends and stories in prose and verse about Abū Muslim preserved in libraries in the Orient, especially in Turkey. In the 'Alī Emri library of Istanbul there is preserved a novel about Abū Muslim in fifteen volumes. These romances are written in Persian and Turkish. Cf. article Ebu Muslim by Mükrimin Halil Yinanç in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, cüz 29, Istanbul 1945, 40 bottom. The novel by Jūrjī Zaidān, *Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī*, Cairo 1933, 6, 20-1, etc., portrays him as the head of the Iranian Shi'a.

[45] Van Vloten, *Recherches*, 68; Friedlander, I., The Heterodoxies of the Shiites (Ibn Ḥazm), *JAOS* 28, 1907, 36, 70; 1908, 118-9.

bāsid revolt was predominantly an Arab political-religious affair. It was not an Iranian, anti-Arab movement. In every battle there were Arabs and non-Arabs on both sides, with the direction of affairs mostly in the hands of the former. The aftermath of the revolt, and the series of heresies and revolts in Khurasan and Transoxania, are another matter.

RICHARD N. FRYE

Peabody Museum
Cambridge, Mass.

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DIE WIEDERGEBURT PERSIENS UM DIE JAHRTAU-SENDWENDE

Sonderdruck aus Islam, Band 35

Die Wiedergeburt Persiens um die Jahrtausendwende

Das 9. und 10. Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung werden das Zeitalter der persischen Renaissance genannt, wenn man dabei an die östliche Welt des Islams denkt[1]). Man kann diese Bezeichnung im gewissen Sinne vertreten. Meiner Meinung nach sollte man aber besser von etwas Neuem sprechen, weniger von einer Wiedergeburt als vielmehr von einer Geburt, denn die neupersische Kultur stellt etwas wirklich Neuartiges dar, obwohl das, oberflächlich betrachtet, nicht der Fall zu sein scheint.

In der islamischen Welt als Ganzem zeugen das 9. und 10. Jahrhundert von der Internationalisierung des Islam. Diese Tendenz widerspricht jedoch nicht dem Aufkommen des persischen Nationalismus. Denn von nun an ruht die islamische Kultur nicht länger allein auf der klassischen arabischen Sprache und auf den Sitten der Beduinen oder auf der Fiktion der Maßstäbe (immer im Hinblick auf die Wüste), die der Prophet setzte. Wir finden nun Staaten und Gesellschaften, die sich unter dem Schutze des Islams bilden. Dieser ist gegen Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts eine Weltreligion mit der Kraft und der Fähigkeit, über politische Grenzen und soziale Mißstände hinauszugreifen. Was ich so leichthin das Aufkommen des persischen Nationalismus nannte, läuft nicht etwa einem Aufkommen des arabischen Nationalismus parallel, sondern einem Zusammenbruch der arabischen Einheit, zumindest im sprachlichen und kulturellen Bereiche.

Studiert man die Geschichte Irans dieser Zeitspanne, so muß man sich unbedingt die Wandlungen der arabischen Sprache vor Augen halten, die Joh. W. Fück so hervorragend beschrieben hat.[2]) Die ara-

[1]) Dieser Ausdruck ist schon im vorigen Jahrhundert, wenn nicht früher, angewendet worden. Vgl. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 1 (Halle 1889), 155, ferner B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, (Wiesbaden 1952), 263.

[2]) J. Fück, *Arabiya* (Berlin 1950), 78, „Nichts kann indessen den Bruch, der sich im Verlaufe des 3./9. Jahrhunderts im Sprachleben zwischen der alten Arabiya und dem aufstrebenden Mittelarabischen auftat, deutlicher kennzeichnen, als der Umstand, daß gegen Ende dieses Jhdts. selbst Grammatiker sich in der Konversation nicht mehr der klassischen Sprache bedienten."

bische Sprache schenkte dem Neupersischen einen Wortreichtum und eine Beweglichkeit, deren sich seine Vorgängerin nicht erfreute. Umgekehrt beeinflußte auch das Persische die arabische Sprache. Diese arabisierte islamisch-persische Sprache wurde zur Trägerin der aufblühenden neupersischen Literatur.

Oberflächlich betrachtet, scheint es nicht schwierig zu sein, die Entfaltung der neupersischen Literatur zu verstehen, auch nicht die Tatsache der Existenz einer Anzahl von Pahlawi-Büchern, die zum großen Teil kurz vor dieser Zeit geschrieben wurden[1]). Allerdings eroberten die Araber Iran. Die arabische Sprache ersetzte allmählich Pahlawi als Schriftsprache; ausgenommen sind die obengenannten Bücher, die — wie behauptet wird — von der Šuʿūbijja verfaßt wurden, jener pro-iranischen Bewegung, die als Opposition gegen die arabische Arroganz entstand[2]). Als die Sāmāniden sich endgültig vom Kalifat befreiten, war nach allgemeiner Ansicht der Weg für den persischen Nationalismus offen. Jedoch dabei ergeben sich gewisse Probleme. Warum entwickelte sich die neupersische Sprache in Transoxanien und nicht in Fārs? Das Volk, das die Bōjiden regierten, konnte größeren Anspruch darauf erheben, Erbe des sassanidischen Iran zu sein, als die zentralasiatischen Untertanen der Sāmāniden. Was bedeutet die Wiederbelebung des zoroastrischen Glaubens in Fārs und Baġdād wirklich? Diesen beiden Problemen möchte ich mich im Folgenden zuwenden.

Niemand wird die kürzlich geäußerten Bemerkungen W. B. Hennings bestreiten wollen: „Das Neupersische ist wohl eher als aus 'nordwestlichen' und 'südwestlichen' Elementen zusammengesetzte Mischsprache anzusehen, denn als 'südwestliche' Sprache mit 'nordwestlichen' Lehnwörtern und -formen. Es ist die allgemeine Verkehrssprache, die sich im Laufe der vierhundertjährigen Herrschaft der Sassaniden in ihren weiten Ländern durch stete gegenseitige Berührung und Beeinflussung der Provinzdialekte allmählich entwickelte, aber erst später den Rang einer Schriftsprache erreichte[3]).“ In ihren Herrschaftsbereich aber müssen sich die Sassaniden einer Sprache zur Aufzeichnung von Dokumenten bedient haben, die man von Merw bis Ktesiphon verstand. In Transoxanien, in Buḫārā und Samarqand, wurde hingegen

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[1]) Über die Pahlawi-Bücher vgl. H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books* (Oxford 1943).

[2]) W. Barthold, „*Die persische Šuʿūbīja und die moderne Wissenschaft*“, *Z. für A.* 26 (1912), 263.

[3]) *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, hrsg. von B. Spuler, 4 (Leiden 1958), 92, Anm. 1.

die sogdische Sprache, oder Dialekte davon, gebraucht[1]). Und gerade wie unter den Arabern, war auch dieses Gebiet früher für die Sassaniden *mā warā' an-nahr.*[2])

Betrachtet man die konservative Tradition der Schreiberklasse im Nahen Osten, so zweifelt man, ob die Pahlawi-Sprache, die man in Iran zur Zeit der arabischen Eroberung schrieb, getreulich die allgemeine Verkehrssprache widerspiegelt, wie es wahrscheinlich einige Jahrhunderte vorher stärker der Fall gewesen war[3]). Offenbar wandelte sich die gesprochene Sprache viel stärker als die geschriebene. Die Schrifttradition des Pahlawi schlief mit der arabischen Eroberung ein, um 700 n. Ch. im Westen und um 750 in Ḫorāsān, als das Arabische die Pahlawi-Sprache in amtlichen Aufzeichnungen ersetzt hatte[4]). Die gesprochene Sprache jedoch entwickelte sich weiter und dehnte sich sogar nach Transoxanien aus. Es gelang ihr, mit Hilfe von zuströmenden Persern und auch Arabern, die im Osten das Persische als allgemeines Verständigungsmittel benutzten, Lokalsprachen zu verdrängen. Besonders in den Städten wurden die sogdischen Dialekte durch das Persische ersetzt[5]).

Dieser Sachverhalt steht nicht im Widerspruch zu islamischen Quellen, auch nicht zum Problem des '*Darī*', das in jüngster Zeit viele Gelehrte beschäftigt hat. Dabei handelt es sich aber um nichts Geheim-

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[1]) Wir haben sowohl die soghdischen Dokumente vom Berge Muġ (Panjikant) als auch verschiedene Münzen aus Zentralasien. Aus Merw stammen einige Topfscherben mit Pahlawi-Inschriften (im Özbekischen Historischen Museum in Taschkent, Uzbek SSR). Auch aus Merw gibt es eine Scherbe mit einer soghdischen Inschrift (A. Freiman in *Zapiski In-ta. Vostokovedenija*, 7 (1939), 296. Die verschiedenen Inschriften, zusammen mit archäologischen Resten, zeigen, daß Merw eine bedeutende Grenz- und Handelsstadt zwischen Zentral-Asien und Iran war. (Vgl. *Yāqūt* IV, 507.)

[2]) Transoxanien war außer-sassanidisches Land zur Zeit der arabischen Eroberungen, und die Oberherrschaft von Merw hat ein *marzbān* (militärischer Statthalter) gehabt. Man erinnert daran, daß die Sāmāniden nicht aus Transoxanien, sondern aus der Umgebung Balḫs stammten, und ferner daran, daß persische Gesänge und Traditionen in Buḫārā und unter den Sogdiern wohl bekannt waren.

[3]) Vgl. Henning, *a. a. O.*, 22, und M. Sprengling, "*From Persian to Arabic*", *A. J. S. L.*, 56 (1939), 185, 190. Natürlich kann die Pahlawi-Schrift keine Sprache gut widerspiegeln.

[4]) Für Ḫorāsān vgl. al-Ǧahšijārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa'l-kuttāb*, hrsg. von M. al-Saqqa (Kairo 1938), 67.

[5]) Soweit ich weiß, sind keine Pahlawi-Inschriften in Transoxanien entdeckt worden. Doch haben wir die Pahlawi-Übersetzung der Psalmen von Turfan und andere Texte von Ost-Turkestan.

nisvolles. Wenn Dr. Ẓabīḥallāh Ṣafā vorschlägt, das Neupersische oder Darī als eine Form des Neu-Parthischen anzusehen[1]), oder wenn Bahār versichert[2]), im östlichen Iran habe das Volk Darī gesprochen und im Westen Pahlawi, dann muß ein Mißverständnis der Quellen vorliegen. Und wenn Bahār weiterhin schreibt[3]), in frühislamischer Zeit hätten an den Höfen des östlichen Irans ohne Zweifel Bücher und Schriften in der Darī-Sprache früher als das Neupersische existiert, dann ist eine umso größere Verwirrung das Ergebnis.

Was sagen nun die arabischen Autoren dazu? Ibn al-Nadīm, Ḫwārazmī, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī und andere sprechen alle von drei Sprachen in Iran: Pahlawi, Darī und Fārsī[4]). Fārsī ist der Dialekt von Fārs, wie Iṣṭaḫrī eingehend ausführt. „Es gibt drei Sprachen in der Provinz", sagt Iṣṭaḫrī, „Fārsī, die Umgangssprache, die alle Bewohner verstehen, Pahlawi, die Sprache der Bücher und Annalen der alten Perser und der Werke der Zoroastrier, die zum Verständnis für einen Perser dieser Zeit einer Erläuterung bedarf". Die dritte Sprache ist das Arabische, das der Korrespondenz der Fürsten und Kanzleien dient[5]). Dieser Absatz ist für den Stand der Sprache in Iran bedeutsam. Darī wird als die Sprache des *Dar*, des Hofes der Sassaniden in Ktesiphon, außerdem als die Sprache von Balch und des Ostens erklärt, des neuen

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[1]) In seiner *Ta'rīḫ-e ädäbijät där Irān*, 1 (Teheran 1954), 140, schreibt er, daß Ibn Muqaffa', unter anderen, ein Problem darbietet, wenn er mit Darī sowohl die Sprache al-Madā'ins (Ktesiphon) als auch Balḫs und des Ostens bezeichnet. (Marw und Balḫ waren die beiden Stützpunkte der Araber im Osten.) Ṣafā versucht diese Nachricht zu erklären, indem er zwei Sprachen, eine frühere Darī in Ktesiphon und eine spätere Darī im Osten, voraussetzt. Aber er erklärt nicht, wie diese zweite Sprache auch der Name „Darī" bekommen hat. Oder — so schlägt er vor —, es gab nur eine Darī-Sprache, und diese Sprache ist bloß Parthisch, sowohl die Hauptsprache des Volkes in Ktesiphon, als auch im Osten, und Darī ist nur als Neu-Parthisch anzusehen.

[2]) Malik al-Šu'ärā Bahār, *Sabk Šināsī*, 1 (Teheran 1938), 230. Moḥ. Mo'īn fügt in der Einleitung seiner Ausgabe des *Burhān-e Qāṭi'*, 1 (Teheran 1952), 28, den Satz „oder lokale Dialekte, dem Pahlawi ähnlich" für den Westen hinzu.

[3]) A. a. O., 235 gibt er den Mangel an Quellen darüber zu, aber führt weiter aus, da nur die *mōbads* in Pahlawi geschrieben haben, müssen die gelehrten Leute Ḫorāsāns, Sīstāns und Transoxaniens in irgendeiner Sprache etwas geschrieben haben. Diese Annahme aber sollte man nicht akzeptieren.

[4]) Die Berichte der drei Autoren findet man bei Moḥ. Mo'īn *a. a. O.*, Einleitung zum *Burhān-e Qāṭi'*, 29, auch Ṣafā, *a. a. O.*, 126 und Yāqūt, III, 925. Hier kümmern wir uns nicht um die Etymologie des Wortes „Pahlawi", sondern nur um die Zustände in islamischer Zeit. Über Pahlawi-Parthisch, vgl. H. S. Nyberg, „Pehlevi-studiets historia i Europa," ***Annales Acad. Reg. Scientiarum Upsaliensis***, 1 (Stockholm 1957), 98.

[5]) Iṣṭaḫrī, ed. de Goeje, 137. 16.

dar (sāmānidischen Hofes) in Buḫārā[1]). So ist Darī ganz einfach die allgemein gesprochene Sprache Irans, wenn auch eine elegante Form davon, einschließlich Fārs, wo der einheimische Dialekt des Darī von islamischen Schreibern Fārsī genannt wird[2]).

Man darf nicht vergessen, daß man im 10. Jahrhundert nach Chr. von Dialektkunde nicht allzu viel verstand. Naršaḫī nennt zum Beispiel die wenigen sogdischen Dialektwörter, die im Gebet in Buḫārā zu Beginn des Islams gebraucht wurden, einfach Fārsī[3]). Der Raum von Fārs, den diese Provinz in der iranischen Geschichte einnimmt, und der Ruhm genügten bereits zu einer Erklärung des Wandels der Nomenklatur von der allgemeinen Sprache des Darī in Fārsī. Natürlich würden das Sogdische und andere zentralasiatische Dialektformen die persische Sprache in Transoxanien beeinflußt haben, so wie heute einige Merkmale davon in Tāǧikī, der Sprache Tāǧikistāns, hervorstechen. Doch halte ich es nicht für nötig, noch weitere grundlegende Bausteine zur Bildung der neupersischen Sprache hinzuzufügen.

Man kann die Bemerkung G. Lazards umdrehen, oder mindestens mit einem anderen Nachdruck vorbringen, das Neupersische gründe sich größtenteils auf die Tāǧik-Dialekte („parlers tadjiks"), worunter die von Buḫārā eine besonders wichtige Rolle gespielt hätten[4]). Vielmehr stellte das allgemein übliche Persisch Irans die Grundlage für das Tāǧikī der Gegenwart dar, dem zentralasiatische Elemente zugefügt wurden. Die These einiger moderner sowjetischer Arbeiten über Tāǧikī scheint kaum annehmbar zu sein, daß nämlich Tāǧikī eine eigene selbständige, bodenständige, räumlich begrenzte Entwicklung durchgemacht habe, dann sich über das restliche Iran verbreitete, dort „iranisiert" wurde und zur neupersischen Sprache geworden sei[5]).

Legte das bisher Gesagte das Geschehen dar, dann bleibt noch die Frage nach dem Warum offen. Sie fordert eine Betrachtung der kulturellen und religiösen Verhältnisse. Zunächst müssen wir einen kurzen Blick auf die Šuʿūbijja werfen, jene Sekte, die man für das Aufblühen des Neupersischen und die Wiederbelebung der zoroastrischen

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[1]) Von Ibn Muqaffaʿ im *Fihrist* des Ibn Nadīms; vgl. Fück, *a. a. O.*, 111, auch *Burhān-e Qāṭiʿ*, unter „Darī."

[2]) Der Ausdruck „Darī" ist nicht klar und ist wahrscheinlich auch in vergangenen Zeiten zweifelhaft gewesen. Heute existiert sogar eine sogenannte „Darī"-Mundart in der Provinz Fārs; vgl. G. M. Petrov, „Jazyk Dari v sovremennom Irane," *Sovetskoje Vostokovedenie*, 2 (Moskau 1958), 144—6.

[3]) *Taʾrīḫ-e Buḫārā*, Hrsg. von M. Reżawī (Teheran 1939), 57.

[4]) In seinem „Caractères distinctifs de la langue Tadjik," *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique*, 52 (Paris 1956), 120.

[5]) Wie z. B. bei M. W. Rahim, *Tadžiksko-Russkij Slovar'* (Moskau 1954), 531.

Religion verantwortlich glaubte. Man muß, meiner Meinung nach, die Šuʿūbijja in ähnlichem Lichte sehen wie die Muʿtazilijja. So wie man die Muʿtaziliten beschuldigte, den Islam anzugreifen und fremde Ideen hineinzutragen, so klagte man die Autoren der Šuʿūbijja an, sie suchten den Niedergang der arabischen Sprache und in Wirklichkeit des Islams selbst[1]). In beiden Fällen entsprach das Gegenteil der Wahrheit. Der Beitrag der Muʿtaziliten zum Islam ist bekannt. Ginge man dem Einfluß der Anhänger der Šuʿūbijja nach, zum Beispiel des Ibn Muqaffaʿ und des Baššār b. Burd (167/783), dann enthüllte sich die bedeutende Rolle, die sie gespielt haben, in ihren Bemühungen, die arabische Sprache zu iranisieren und aus dem arabischen Islam eine Weltkultur zu machen[2]).

Das klingt paradox, ist es aber nicht so sehr, wenn man jene „nationalen persischen" Dynastien betrachtet, die Ṭāhiriden und Sāmāniden, die jene Dichter und Schreiber begünstigten, die den Ruhm des alten Iran besangen. Alle Herrscher des Geschlechtes der Ṭāhiriden waren als Männer bekannt, die großen Wert auf korrektes Arabisch legten. ʿUbaidallāh b. ʿAbdallāh, der letzte wichtige Herrscher der Ṭāhiriden (847—912) war berühmt als Schreiber eines klassisch-arabischen Stils, während die Sāmāniden als große Schutzherren des Arabischen galten[3]). Gewiß schufen die Muʿtaziliten und die Anhänger der Šuʿūbijja (ich setze die beiden nicht gleich) Verhältnisse, in denen zoroastrische Bücher erscheinen konnten und die neupersische Literatur aufblühte. Aber die zoroastrische Glaubenserneuerung hatte im Grunde wenig, wenn überhaupt etwas, mit diesen großen Bewegungen der islamischen Welt zu tun. Die neupersische Kultur hingegen wuchs aus dem von ihnen geschaffenen Milieu heraus.

Aber man muß nach anderen Faktoren zur Erklärung beider suchen. Aus vielerlei Gründen entwickelte sich der persische Nationalismus mehr im Osten Irans als im Westen. Erstens war die alte sassanidische Herrschaft im Osten immer gering und am Ende sehr schwach geworden. Im westlichen Iran und in Ktesiphon war die konservative Schreiberklasse stark. Zweitens lebte die persische Sprache in Transoxanien in einer neuen Umgebung, in einem Grenzland, in dem irr-

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[1]) Über die Suʿūbbijja vgl. Bahār *a. a. O.* 1, 149, Anm. 1, aus al-Zamaḫšārī, auch Goldziher, *a. a. O.*, 172—4, 208, 213—15. Über die Muʿtaziliten vgl. Adam Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg 1922), 58.

[2]) Muqaddasī, 328, behauptet, daß das richtigste Arabisch im Osten gesprochen werde, weil man sich dort sehr um es bemühe. Vgl. Fück, *a. a. O.*, 77 und 107.

[3]) Fück, 77—8 und Spuler *a. a. O.*, 245.

gläubige Ideen verbreitet waren[1]). Im westlichen Iran dagegen herrschten Orthodoxie in der islamischen und der zoroastrischen Religion sowie Stabilität in der Sprache, so wie es bei Iṣṭaḫrī belegt ist. Drittens: Baġdād, Baṣra und Kūfa lagen dem westlichen Iran näher, was einen großen Einfluß auf die Entwicklung dieses Landesteils ausübte[2]). Viertens: eine Stadtkultur war zu dieser Zeit im Westen Irans stärker entwickelt als im Osten. Beide Gebiete bewahrten ohne Zweifel alte iranische Traditionen. Im Osten jedoch führten die Dihqāne in ihren Burgen und Palästen und die kleinen Dynasten an ihren Höfen die alte ritterlich feudale Lebensart weiter, vielmehr vermutlich als im Westen[3]).

Man darf den sehr wichtigen Punkt nicht vergessen, daß die Lehrer der Jugend in Fārs entweder *mōbads* waren, die in zoroastrischer Umgebung Pahlawi verwendeten, oder *šaiḫs*, die sich der arabischen Sprache bedienten. In beiden Fällen aber war die gesprochene Sprache Fārsī. Im Osten lehrten die *šaiḫs* in Arabisch, aber für die Nicht-Muslime gab es vielmehr Geschichtenerzähler als *mōbads*. Im Osten fehlte die strenge Organisation der *mōbads* im Westen, besonders derer von Fārs[4]). Interessant ist es, sich zu erinnern, daß die Zoroastrier ähnlich wie die Juden organisiert waren, mit einem Ältesten an der

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[1]) In den kleinen Oasenstädten Transoxaniens hat es eine Tradition der Freiheit von der Zentralgewalt gegeben. Man kann die Herrschaft der Ṣadrs in Buḫārā vor den Mongolen als Beispiel erwähnen. Die Manichäer, Nestorianer, Buddhisten, usw. haben geholfen, Transoxanien zu einem Platz des „kulturellen Austausches" zu machen.

[2]) Ibn Muqaffaʿ, der viele Bücher aus dem Pahlawi ins Arabische übersetzt hat, war in Baṣra seßhaft. Es ist klar, daß der persische Einfluß in Iraq sehr stark war, da in der Baġdāder Umgangssprache viele persische Wörter vorkommen. „In den Städten des Iraks herrschte das Persische in den unteren Schichten," Fück, 46. Verschiedene Wissenschaftler wohnten selbstverständlich in der Hauptstadt Baġdād.

[3]) Das ist gerade die Meinung Bartholds in seinem Aufsatz *a. a. O.*, 253—5.

[4]) J. H. Kramers meinte, daß der Sassanidische Feuerkultus im 10. Jhdt. nur in Fārs vorhanden gewesen sei; *ZDMG*, 92 (1938), 10, wiederholt in *Analecta Orientalia* (Leiden 1954), 364. Daß die Zoroastrier in Fārs in dieser Zeit stark vertreten waren, ist aus dem *Firdōs al-muršidijja* des šaiḫs Kazerōnī (gestb. 426/1034), hrsg. von F. Meier (Leipzig 1948), 29—30, 115—6, klar ersichtlich. Im Osten hingegen findet man Andersgläubigkeit unter dem Volk. Beweis dafür sind die ketzerischen „zoroastrischen" Aufstände; die Behauptung Bīrōnīs (*India*, Engl. Übersetzung von E. Sachau I, 247), daß die Zoroastrier Sogdiens eine Weltanschauung ähnlich der der Buddhisten verteidigen (kaum der Orthodoxie entsprechend); und ferner die verschiedenen Gottheiten auf den Münzen der Kušan, Hephthaliten usw.; zuletzt Spuren des Gottes Žūn, und ähnliches Beweismaterial. Weiter sind die Nestorianer und Manichäer im Osten wahrscheinlich stärker als im Westen.

Spitze der Gemeinschaft, der diese beherrschte, Steuern erhob, um sie an die Zentralgewalt weiterzuleiten. Diese Ordnung bestand nicht bei den Christen und wahrscheinlich auch nicht bei allen, die außerhalb der orthodoxen Gemeinschaft standen[1]). Sechstens: der glückliche Einfall, Persisch mit arabischen Schriftzeichen zu schreiben, bewirkte zusammen mit der Entstehung reicher, unabhängiger Höfe im Osten, und mit anderen Faktoren, den neupersischen Aufschwung im 10. Jahrhundert[2]). Wichtiger als die Dynastien, die Sāmāniden im Osten und die Bōjiden im Westen, ist eine Bemerkung von Muqaddasī, im Osten seien zu seiner Zeit die Gelehrten sehr hoch angesehen gewesen, in Fārs, einer Provinz des Westens hingegen, die Sekretäre[3]).

Ich muß nun noch meine Bemerkung über den zoroastrischen Irrglauben im Osten und die Orthodoxie im Westen erklären. Da in letzter Zeit viel über den Zurwanismus geschrieben wurde, kann ein Seitenblick auf diesen Disput vielleicht zur Klärung späterer Punkte beitragen. Es ist hier nicht angebracht, Wesen und Stellung des Zurwanismus zur Zeit der Sassaniden zu diskutieren, ob er nämlich nur eine philosophische Bewegung war, ob er in Toynbeeischem Rhythmus stieg und fiel, oder ob er im Westen bekannter war als im Osten. Allgemein anerkannt ist, glaube ich, daß das Zentrum des orthodoxen zoroastrischen Glaubens zur Zeit der Sassaniden und auch unter dem Islam im Westen lag[4]). Die zoroastrischen Zentren der Provinz Fārs waren in islamischer Zeit Šīrāz und Kāzerōn, und im Iraq Baġdād, früher Ktesiphon[5]).

Weiter müssen wir zugeben, daß die ketzerischen zoroastrischen Bewegungen, die in islamischer Zeit entstanden, alle außerhalb von Fārs und al-Ǧibāl aufblühten. Bihafrīd wurde bei den orthodoxen *mōbads* von Ḫorāsān angezeigt, die Abū Muslim aufforderten, ihn zu beseitigen. Wo finden wir Sinbād, Ustāḏsīs, al-Muqannaʿ, Mazjār und die anderen Ketzer[6])? Gleichgültig, was wir über den Zurwanismus und

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1) Vgl. Mez, *a. a. O.*, 30.

2) Der Gedanke, Persisch in arabischen Buchstaben zu schreiben, kann nicht bloß die Erfindung eines Mannes, wie etwa das awestische Alphabet, gewesen sein. Daß die Idee nicht unbekannt, doch auch nicht einfach zu verwirklichen war, kann man aus einer Stelle bei Ǧāhiẓ (gest. 869) *Kitāb al-bajān wa'l-ṭabijīn*, I (Kairo 1311/1893), 16, vermuten, daß nämlich einige Laute in der *luġa 'l-ʿajam* sehr schwer in der arabischen Schrift aufzuzeichnen sind, dies aber bei der Ḫūzī Sprache unmöglich sei.

3) *A. a. O.*, 440. 2. Auf S. 448. 13, sagt er, daß Ḫorāsān mehr Wissenschaftler als Fārs hervorgebracht hat.

4) J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *The Western Response to Zoroaster*, (Oxford 1958), 24

5) J. C. Tavadia, „*Zur Pflege des iranischen Schrifttums*," *ZDMG*, 98 (1944), 337.

6) G. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam* (Chicago 1953), 205. In dieser Frage stimme ich einigen seiner Schlüsse nicht bei.

seine Beziehungen zu den Qadariten denken, wenn überhaupt welche bestehen: es ist mehr als wahrscheinlich, daß der orthodoxe Mazdaismus im Westen, nicht aber im Osten vorherrschte[1]).

Ich glaube, die Existenz einer bestimmten Anzahl von Zoroastriern ist zum großen Teil für den Mißerfolg der neupersischen Bewegung (oder besser gesagt für deren späteres Emporkommen) im Westen verantwortlich. Gerade weil im Westen die Grenze zwischen arabisch-islamischer und zoroastrischer-iranischer Kultur so scharf gezogen war, anders als im Osten, wo die Sāmāniden eine neue islamisch-persische Kultur an die Gaznawiden und die selǧūkischen Türken weitergeben konnten. Die Bōjiden dagegen mußten sich den beiden Richtungen anpassen und ihren Interessen gerecht werden[2]). Natürlich sind die Unterschiede nicht so klar zu erkennen, wie ich sie charak-

[1]) Daß der Buddhismus noch im 7. Jhdt. in Ost Iran lebendig war, wird in dem Bericht des chinesischen Reisenden Hsüan Tsang angedeutet und ergibt sich aus den archäologischen Resten in Bamijān und anderswo in Afghanistan. Über andere Religionen vgl. H. H. Schaeder in *ZDMG*, 95 (1944), S. 268. Keiner zweifelt daran, daß Orthodoxie unter den Zoroastriern in islamischer Zeit in West-Iran und Mesopotamien vorhanden sei, aber ich kann nicht verstehen, warum einige Wissenschaftler die Vorherrschaft der Orthodoxie auch unter den Sassaniden nicht annehmen wollen. Selbstverständlich blühte der Zurwanismus in der vorislamischen Zeit, während er nach den arabischen Eroberungen wahrcheinlich ausgestorben ist. Die Gründe dafür sind nicht schwer zu erraten. Wir wissen, daß die Zoroastrier in islamischer Zeit in einer eingeschränkten Gemeinschaft gelebt haben. Was ist mit den Zurwaniten geschehen? Entweder mußten sie sich der Orthodoxgemeinschaft unterwerfen oder „die Kirche" verlassen. Dann sind sie Ketzer geworden oder vielleicht, indem sie den Islam annahmen, Qadariten oder später Mu'taziliten. Daß die Zurwaniten vor dem Islam freier waren als nachdem, vielleicht zuweilen auch vorherrschten, kann man voraussetzen, aber sicher war das gemeine Volk, die Massen, mindestens zur Endzeit der Sassaniden, *nicht* hauptsächlich Zurwaniten, wie Duchesne-Guillemin, *a. a. O.*, 18, und M. Boyce, *BSOAS*, 19 (1957), 308—9, behaupten. Sonst hätte der Zurwanismus fortgelebt und nicht die Orthodoxie. Ich schlage im Gegenteil die Vermutung vor, daß der Zurvanismus beim Hof und unter dem Adel, (jene haben ihre Vorrangstellung durch die arabische Eroberung verloren), verbreitet und beliebt war. Es ist auch möglich, daß der Zurwanismus in Mesopotamien mehr als in Iran verbreitet war. Mit diesen Vorschlägen könnte man die fremden (hauptsächlich syrischen und armenischen) Berichte über die religiösen Verhältnisse im sassanidischen Iran mit dem anderen Bild der islamischen Zeit in Einklang bringen.

[2]) Selbstverständlich waren die Bōjiden Muslime (Šī'iten), und die Frage des Einflusses der Šu'ūbijja stellte sich nicht mehr. Vgl. H. A. R. Gibb, „*The Social Significance of the Shu'ūbīya*," *Studia Orientalia Joanni Pedersen* (Copenhagen 1954), 108, 113. Doch haben die Bōjiden Zoroastrier als Hauptbeamte und sogar Statthalter in ihren Dienst genommen. Vgl. Kāzerōnī, hrsg. von F. Meier, *a. a. O.*, 115, 117, 121.

terisiert habe. Man sollte nicht vergessen, daß die Kenntnis der erstarrten geschriebenen Pahlawi-Sprache schnell erstarb, und nur wenige Menschen außer den *mōbads* sie verstehen konnten. Diese Tatsache muß auch für die Provinzen am Kaspischen Meer gelten, wo die Pahlawi-Inschriften an den Türmen von Lağim und Mil-e Rādkān letzte Reste einer alten Tradition sind.

Die Feststellung Bartholds: „Die Bōjiden unterwarfen sich ganz dem Einfluß der arabischen Literatur, während sie der persischen gegenüber gleichgültig blieben", können wir in Einklang bringen mit der Charakterisierung Minorskys, der sie als Wahrer der iranischen nationalen Tradition bezeichnet, indem wir das Interesse und die Toleranz der bōjidischen Fürsten beiden Traditionen gegenüber aufzeigen[1]). Sie hinterließen Inschriften in kūfischem Arabisch, und konnten ebensogut solche in Pahlawi veranlaßt haben. Wenn sie sich beiden gegenüber gleichgültig verhalten haben, dann rührt das von einem Mangel an Verständnis für beide her[2]).

Im 11. Jahrhundert wanderten Zoroastrier in größerer Zahl nach Indien aus. Die schwindende Organisation der Zoroastrier in Fārs, Kōhistān und anderen Teilen des Landes sollte in der Zeit der Selğūken ganz zerfallen[3]). Ich kann mir gut vorstellen, wie einige gelehrte Muslime von Šīrāz nach der Selğūkischen Eroberung sagten: „Wir hätten hier Persisch mit arabischen Buchstaben schreiben können, lange bevor sie es im Osten durchführten. Allein wir hatten nicht die passenden Schutzherren. Doch die *ʿulamā* und *mōbads* runzelten angesichts einer solchen Idee die Stirn!"

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[1]) Die übliche Toleranz der Bōjiden ist wohl bekannt, und wahrscheinlich hat sie ihre Wurzel nicht allein in der šiʿitischen Theologie und dem Verhältnis zur Muʿtazila. Vgl. A. Mez, *a. a. O.*, 30—1, W. Barthold, *Musulman Culture*, Engl. Übersetzung von S. Suhrwardy (Calcutta 1934), 84, und V. Minorsky, *La Domination des Dailamites* (Paris 1932), 1, sowie „Caucasica IV" *BSOAS*, 15 (1953), 514.

[2]) Im Namen Adūḍ al-Daula's ist eine kufische Inschrift auf Stein in Persepolis vorhanden; vgl. E. Herzfeld, „Khorassan," *Der Islam*, 11 (1921), 173 und *Paikuli*. Ob die Inschrift von Marasfand, Mōbad Kāzerōns, in Persepolis aus dem Jahre 344/955 (von Herzfeld in *ZDMG* 80 (1926), 249 berichtet) auf Arabisch oder Pahlawī geschrieben ist, weiß ich nicht. Für das vorliegende Problem ist diese Tatsache jedoch besonders wichtig.

[3]) Wir wissen, daß die großen Wanderungen der Parsen aus Iran im 11. Jhdt., oder auch später, fortgesetzt wurden. Die Pahlawī-Bücher, die in Iran in islamischer Zeit geschrieben worden waren, sind erst während oder nach der Zeit der Selğūken nach Indien verbracht worden. Aber die Kenntnis des Pahlawī war fast ausgestorben, und Neryoseng mußte die Bücher ins Sanskrit übersetzen.

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ZOROASTRIER IN DER FRÜHISLAMISCHEN ZEIT

Sonderdruck aus Der Islam, Band 40, 1965.

Zoroastrier in der frühislamischen Zeit

In einem Artikel, „Die Wiedergeburt Persiens um die Jahrtausendwende", in der Zeitschrift *Der Islam*, Bd. 35, habe ich einige Hypothesen über die Religion der Perser in der Zeit des Überganges von den letzten Sasaniden zum Islam vorgetragen. Hier möchte ich diese Thesen weiterentwickeln und erklären.

Um mich kurz zu fassen: ich glaube, daß beide, Mazdaismus (d.h. Dualismus) *und* Zurwanismus (was man vielleicht Hochgottglaube nennen kann), in der vor-islamischen sowohl als auch in der *früh*-nach-islamischen Zeit als „orthodox" galten, obwohl sie einander in manchen Punkten widersprechen. Diese beiden Sekten, wenn man sie so bezeichnen darf, hatten im großen und ganzen den gleichen Ritus, aber nicht die gleiche Lehre (also Orthopraxie und nicht Orthodoxie), während andere Sekten, wie die Mazdakiten der sasanidischen Zeit und die Khurammiyya und Bihāfrīdiyya in der islamischen Zeit, gerade deshalb „heterodox" waren, weil sie gegen die Orthopraxie reagierten. Als Parallelen der islamischen Zeit verweise ich auf die Muʿtaziliten, die wie die Zurwaniten Orthopraxie hatten, obwohl sie heterodox waren, während die „orthodoxen" Karamiten wie die Mazdakiten wegen ihrer Heteropraxie verfolgt wurden[1]). Baghdādī schreibt, daß die islamischen Juristen die Stellung der Zurwaniten und Maskhiyya (? eine arabische Bezeichnung, etwa „Verwandlung", was aber nicht klar ist) als unter der Kopfsteuer (*djiziya*) beschützt anerkannt haben[2]). Die anderen Sekten aber galten als „nichtkanonisch" (so Heteropraxie ?).

Unter den Sasaniden waren Mazdaismus und Zurwanismus ebenso wie andere Sekten und Religionen tätig. Es scheint als ob der Zurwanismus am Hof und unter der Aristokratie besonders beliebt war, was Zaehner, Duchesne-Guillemin und Mary Boyce in ihren Schriften hervorgehoben haben[3]). Die christlichen Autoren schildern hauptsächlich zurwanistische Elemente, besonders den Zwillingsmythos, in ihrer Polemik gegen die Perser; doch finden wir auch charakteristische dualistische Züge bei den christlichen Autoren, wie z.B. ein Mobadānmobad erklärt, daß nur Ahuramazda Erde und Himmel geschaffen

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[1]) Ich verwende hier „Orthodox" (mit Anführungsstrichen) im ursprünglichen Sinn.

[2]) Baghdādī, *al-farq bain al-firaq*, Englische Übersetzung von A. Halkin (Tel Aviv, 1935), 221.

[3]) R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan* (Oxford, 1955), 35—52; Duchesne-Guillemin in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 15 (1956), 108—112; Mary Boyce in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 19 (1957), 305—8.

hat[4]). Die christlichen Autoren, glaube ich, geben Zeugnisse für das Vorherrschen sowohl des Mazdaismus (Dualismus) als auch des Zurwanismus.

Nach der islamischen Eroberung werden die Zoroastrier aller Sekten mehr und mehr wie in ein Ghetto gedrängt. Sie hatten einen *pēšōpāy -ī- hūdēnān* ähnlich dem *reš galuta* der Juden. Als die Aristokratie (die *Dehkānen*), um ihre sozialführende Stellung unter den Eroberern zu erhalten, zum Islam übertrat, ist der Zurwanismus schwächer geworden. Jetzt war Orthodoxie wie Orthopraxie für die Bewahrung der Gemeinde höchst wichtig, und die Ketzer wurden kräftig unterdrückt. Sie mußten entweder den orthodoxen Glauben und Ritus unterstützen oder die Gemeinde verlassen. Wir wissen, daß die islamische Regierung bestrebt war, der zoroastrischen „orthodoxen" Gemeinde bei der Unterdrückung der Ketzer zu helfen. Sogar Abū Muslim, selbst ein islamischer Rebell, hat auf die Forderung der orthodoxen Mobaden von Khurasan hin den Ketzer Bihāfrīd gefangen genommen und getötet[5]). Mehr und mehr wurde in der Gemeinde die Lehre vom Zurwan aufgegeben, als die Geistlichkeit sich bemühte, eine einheitliche Form des Glaubens, d.h. den Glauben an Ohrmazd in möglichster Reinheit herzustellen. Ich vermute, daß dies unter den ʿAbbāsiden kurz vor 800 n. Chr. geschah. Dieser orthodoxe Mazdaismus war derselbe Glaube (natürlich mit Entwicklungen) der in der spät-sasanidischen Zeit unter den Massen vorherrschte (neben Magie oder Volksglauben). Das Problem der Verschiedenheit der „Religionen" unter den Sasaniden und später in der islamischen Zeit bei den Zoroastriern ist, meines Erachtens, in dieser Weise zu lösen.

Was man früher über die Zahl der Zoroastrier in Iran in der früh-islamischen Zeit schrieb, ist jetzt, wie allgemein anerkannt, zu korrigieren. Wir lernen von den *Sendschreiben Mānūščihar*[6]), daß einige Zoroastrier zur Zeit der Ṭāhiriden in Nišapur wohnten; erst im zehnten Jahrhundert sind viele der dortigen Zoroastrier zum Islam übergetreten[7]). In den Provinzen Fars, Isfahan u.a. bildeten damals die Zoroastrier einen bedeutenden Teil der Bevölkerung. In Kāzarōn und anderen Städten Fars waren die Zoroastrier sogar in der Mehrzahl[8]). Daß die Zahl (und vielleicht auch die Bedeutung) der Zoroastrier in Iran bis zum 11. Jahrhundert größer war als früher angenommen wurde, kann heute als sicher gelten. Ferner wurden die meisten der Zoroastrier damals der dualistischen Orthodoxie gleichgeschaltet. Das ist das Ergebnis meiner Forschung.

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[4]) P. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, 2 (Paris, 1891), 576. Es muß betont werden, daß H. H. Schaeder meiner Meinung nach überzeugend bewiesen hat (*ZDMG*, 95 (1941), 291), daß die Entstehung des Zurwanmythos (die Zwillinge) ins 4. oder beginnende 5. Jhdt. n. Chr. fällt.

[5]) Siehe E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 1 (London, 1902), 309.

[6]) E. B. N. Dhabar, *The Epistles of Mānūščihar* I, 2 (Bombay, 1912), 53. Das Buch ist wahrscheinlich im Jahre 881 n. Chr. geschrieben.

[7]) *Ta'rīkh-i Nišāpūr*, Hss. Bursa fol. 40a (wird bald von mir bei Mouton herausgegeben). Siehe auch Frye in *Festschrift* für A. Zeki Velidi Togan (Istanbul, 1955), 407.

[8]) *Firdōs al-muršidiyya* des Scheichs Kazarōnī (gestb. 426/1034), hrsg. von F. Meier (Leipzig, 1948), 29—30, 115—6.

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THE SAMANIDS: A LITTLE-KNOWN DYNASTY

The Moslem World, Vol. XXXIV, Hartford, Conn., 1944.

THE SAMANIDS: A LITTLE-KNOWN DYNASTY

This dynasty, which ruled Transoxania for a period of one hundred ten years, 279-389 (892-999), according to the historian Qazwini, claimed descent from a noble family of the Sassanian court.[1] It is difficult to trace the genealogy of the Samanids before Saman-i Khudat, the grandfather of Isma'il, for the genealogical trees given by later Muslim historians conflict in many instances. Ibn al-Athir claims Bahram Jashnash, or Gushnasp, the marzban of Azarbaijan under Chosroes Anushirvan, as the ancestor.[2] Most authors consider Saman the founder and ruler of the village of the same name in Balkh province, although others place the village of Saman in the vicinity of Samarqand.[3] The story of Saman is told by various Muslim authors in much the same guise. It seems he fled to the Arab governor of Khurasan, Asad ibn 'Abdallah al-Qushairi (or Qasrī), who, recognizing his noble rank and ability, appointed him governor of Balkh. Saman, from gratitude towards his protector, adopted Islam and named his son Asad.[4]

It is only through his four sons that we know anything of Asad, although Qazwini says he served under Ṭāhir Dhū'l Yamīnain.[5] It is probable that Asad gained the attention of the caliph al-Ma'mūn, when the latter was sojourning at Merv.[6] When the caliph returned to Baghdad he appointed a new governor of Khurasan, Ghassān ibn Abbād, in 204/819-20, about the same time Asad died. Ma'mūn then directed his governor to give the four sons offices in the government. They may have been active in the service of the caliph prior to this time in the army of Harthama, when he suppressed the revolt of Rāfi' ibn Layth in 810.[7] Nuḥ, the eldest, received the governorship of Samarqand; Aḥmad

[1] Gantin, J., *Tarikhe Gozide* par Qazwini, Paris, 1903, 21.
[2] Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil fi'l-Tārikh*, ed. Tornberg, C. J., Leyden, 1865, v. 7, 192.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Narshakhi, *Description de Boukhara*, ed. Schefer, C. Paris, 1892, 57.
[5] Gantin, *op. cit.*, 23.
[6] Defrémery, C. M., *Histoire des Samanides* par Mirkhond, Paris, 1845, 113.
[7] Narshakhi, *op. cit.*, 74; Tabari III, 775.

ruled Farghana; Yahya had Shash, while the youngest, Ilyas, went to Herat.[8]

In 822 Ṭalha ibn Ṭāhir succeeded his father as governor of Khurasan, and confirmed the Samanid brothers in their posts. The governorship of Khurasan passed from hand to hand, but the subordinate posts were more stable. When Nuḥ ibn Asad died, Ṭalḥa gave the government of Samarqand to both Yahya and Aḥmad, although the latter was the more aggressive of the two.[9] Almost nothing is known of Ilyas, although Ibn al-Athir claims that his son, Muḥammad succeeded him in 242/856.[10] Yaḥya died in 855, and the administration of Shash was assumed by Aḥmad, who placed his eldest son, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb in power.[11] His second son Naṣr ibn Aḥmad was placed over Samarqand, and was confirmed by the Ṭāhirid governor of Khurasan. In 261/874 the caliph Mu'tamid conferred the governorship of all of Transoxania on Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, setting a precedent in removing Transoxania from the direct jurisdiction of the governor of Khurasan.[12] In the same year Nasr appointed his brother Isma'il governor of the territory of Bukhara.

Friction soon developed between the two brothers. We are uncertain whether it was Isma'il's attempt to incite the aristocracy against Naṣr,[13] or the friendship between Isma'il and Rafi'ibn Harthama, the representative of the Ṭāhirids in Transoxania, which initiated the rift.[14] Rafi' was able to reconcile the brothers, however in 275/888 Naṣr again marched on Isma'il, but was defeated and captured.[15] The conduct of Isma'il towards his brother was a rare example of kindness, for he gave high honors to Naṣr who returned to Samarqand, while Isma'il remained governor of Bukhara under the jurisdiction of his brother. Naṣr died in 279/892, leaving sole dominion to Isma'il, and it is with the latter that Muslim historians date the real beginning of the Samanid dynasty.

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[8] Defrémery, *op. cit.*, 218.
[9] *Ibid.*, 114.
[10] Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, v. 7, 193.
[11] Narshakhi, *op. cit.*, 80-1.
[12] Gantin, *op. cit.*, 23; Tabari III, 1889, 11.
[13] Narshakhi, *op. cit.*, 80.
[14] Defrémery, *op. cit.*, 115.
[15] Narshakhi, *op. cit.*, 81.

Isma'il received a diploma of investiture from the caliph, confirming him in possession of the lands across the Oxus. At the same time al-Mu'taḍid recognized Amr ibn Layth as governor of Khurasan, and the latter considered Transoxania a mere appendage to his domain. There is no evidence that Isma'il recognized the suzerainity of Amr, for the name of the Samanid prince appeared in the khutba in the year 874.[16] Niẓām al-Mulk says that the Saffarids had adopted the Isma'ilan heresy (a Shi'ite sect), so the caliph sanctioned war against them. He also claims that the caliph sent secret agents to Bukhara to incite the Samanid against Amr.[17] The ensuing struggle was of short duration. Isma'il probably assumed the offensive immediately for all of the battles were fought south of the Oxus. The decisive struggle took place near Balkh in 288/900, and Amr was completely defeated and captured. The victor sent his captive to Baghdad, and received in return investiture over Khurasan, Seistan, Rayy, Isfahan, and Tabaristan.[18]

Isma'il sought to consolidate his realm by subduing the most recalcitrant part. He marched against Sayyid ibn Muḥammad ibn Zayd, ruler of Tabaristan and Jurjan, despite the remonstrances of the envoy of that ruler at the Samanid court. Zayd was defeated and his head was sent to Bukhara.[19] The victorious general then revolted against Isma'il, but was driven into the mountains of Daylam, and peace was restored over the entire Samanid territory. The effective rule of Isma'il was partially due to his capable associates,[20] although his personal genius is apparent. Ibn Isfandiyar says, "Isma'il administered such justice as was almost unknown in Tabaristan. . . . . He also restored the possessions of the poor and reduced their taxes, and so won the affection and support of all."[21]

The Samanids were generally well-liked by the people

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[16] Vambery, A., *History of Bukhara*, London, 1873, 57.
[17] Schefer, C., *Siasset Nameh* par Nizam oul-Moulk, Paris, 1893, 14.
[18] Defrémery, *op. cit.*, 122.
[19] Browne, E. G., *Ibn Isfandiyar's History of Tabaristan*, London, 1903, 193.
[20] He had bitter opponents as may be seen from some poems written against him, *cf.* Barbier de Meynard, Tableau Littéraire du Khorassan et de la Transoxanie, *JA*, 1858, 173, 185-6.
[21] [illegible]

of Transoxania, for they were of Iranian stock and did not favor the Arabs over the local population. We do not know the status of the Samanids in regard to the caliphs. There is no evidence that they ever paid tribute to the caliphs, although the latter continued to address the Samanid princes as their viceroys, while the Samanids stamped the name of the caliph on their coins, and placed his name in the prayers. When the Buyids came to power, however, these practices ceased.[22] The early Samanids were patrons of Iranian culture, and Persian seems to have been the official language of the court till the reign of the pious Aḥmad ibn Isma'il, who changed the language of documents and decrees to Arabic.[23] Arabic never completely displaced Persian, the spoken language of the people. All of the Samanid rulers welcomed both Persian and Arabic poems and prose works, and the number of literary men at the Samanid court was always large. Khurasan and Transoxania remained centers of culture for several centuries.

The people of Transoxania were Sunnis for the most part, as well as their rulers. The piety of Isma'il was well-known.[24] The Hanifite school at Bukhara was a famous center of learning, and scholars were attracted from far and wide. Shafi'ites were numerous on the frontiers, converting the Turks to their beliefs.[25] Yāqūt claims that the majority of the people of Khwarazm were Shafi'ites.[26] The Shi'ites were active in Ṭabaristan and Seistan, and even extended their proselytizing endeavors to Transoxania. One of their leaders, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Nakhshabi, was able to convert many persons at the court of Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, and even the amīr himself lent an ear to the discussions.[27] These tendencies of Naṣr were sufficient to incite the Turkish soldiery to revolt, and the ruler was only saved by the intervention of his son, who persuaded his father to abdicate in his favor. The new amīr, Nuḥ ibn Naṣr, after gaining the

[22] Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, v. 8, 381.
[23] Gantin, *op. cit.*, 29.
[24] Schefer, *op. cit.*, 12.
[25] Maqdisi, ed. de Goeje, M., Leyden, 1906, 323, 9.
[26] Wüstenfeld, F., *Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1869, v. 2, 512.
[27] Schefer, *op. cit.*, 275.

confidence of the Turks, dealt swift punishment to the heretics; henceforth orthodoxy held sway at court.

The frontier of Islam was extended considerably under the Samanids. In the year 349/960 Turks of 20,000 tents accepted Islam.[28] The Qarakhanid or Ilek Khans, who ruled from Kashgar and Qarabalsaghun, were also converted about this time. The success of Islam robbed the *ghazis*, or frontier warriors, of their *raison d'être*, so they left Transoxania for more fruitful areas of action. In 355/965 a large number of *ghazis* passed through northern Iraq, bound for Anatolia and war against the Byzantines.[29] Gardizi tells of 10,000 *ghazis* who came from Transoxania to help Maḥmud of Ghazni against his enemies in Nishapur,[30] while 'Utbi says that thousands of *ghazis* from Transoxania joined Maḥmud in his Indian campaigns.[31] As a consequence of this depletion of fighting men in Transoxania the Qarakhanid Turks did not meet strong opposition when they advanced against the Samanids.

The Samanid kingdom began to crumble at the beginning of the reign of Nuḥ ibn Mansur, 976-997. Revolts occurred in all parts of his domain, and he was only able to regain Khwarazm. All the provinces south of the Oxus river, except a small portion of Khurasan, were lost.[32] A lieutenant of the Samanids, Abū 'Ali Simjūr, ruled most of Khurasan practically independent.[33] It is probable that he intrigued with Bughrā Khan of the Qarakhanids and induced him to invade the Samanid domain. Bughrā Khan defeated the Samanid army and took Bukhara, but was obliged to retreat, due to an illness which caused his death in 992.[34] Nuḥ, with the aid of Sabuktagin and his famous son Maḥmud, was able to regain his throne and defeat Abū 'Ali Simjūr. The power of the Samanids, however, had van-

[28] Ibn Miskawayh, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, trans. Margoliouth, D. and Amedroz, Oxford, 1920, v. 4, 240.
[29] *Ibid.*, v. 6, 283.
[30] Yakubovskii, A., Makhmud Gaznevi, *Ferdovsi*, Leningrad, 1934, 80.
[31] Elliot, H., *History of India*, v. 2, 41.
[32] Sachau, E., *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwarizm*, *Sitzungsberichte Akad. Wiss. zu Wien*, 1873, 499.
[33] Defrémery, *op. cit.*, 160.
[34] *Ibid.*, 173.

ished. The dynasty continued in existence till the death of the last claimant to the throne, Isma'il ibn Nuḥ in 1004.

The Samanids in one respect marked the end of an era, for Turkish dynasties ruled the land ever afterwards. There was no abrupt change in the population, for there remained nomads and settled folk, Turks and Iranians, orthodox and heretics, before, during, and after the Samanids. The Samanids tried to make a unified, centralized, orthodox state, but it could not endure, for Transoxania was the crossroads of Asia, the link between currents of thought and trade from the Far and Near East. The statement of E. D. Ross is hardly accurate,[35] because the border between Muslims and infidels lost its importance under the Samanids when Islam was extended into the mountains and steppes. The impetus to advance disappeared and the reverse process began. The people of the steppes sought the wealth of the settled, and they didn't stop till they reached the Bosphorus.

RICHARD N. FRYE.

Washington, D. C.

[35] Ross, E. D., "The Invasions and Immigrations of the Tartars," *J. Central Asian Society* 1928, 137; "At the end of the 10th century when this Hindenburg line of the Syr Darya had been in existence for nearly 300 years there came a sudden counter-push from the Turkish side."

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CITY CHRONICLES OF CENTRAL ASIA AND KHURASAN: A HISTORY OF NASAF?

Mélanges Fuad Köprülü, Istanbul - 1953.

CITY CHRONICLES OF CENTRAL ASIA AND KHURASAN: A HISTORY OF NASAF?

An Arabic manuscript in the Bibliothéque Nationale is described in the following words in the published catalogue[1]: «6284. Fragment, incomplet du commencement et de la fin, d'un dictionnaire des traditionnistes de la Transoxiane; Nasaf, Samarkand, Boukhara, Isfidjab, y sont constamment citées; la date de 521 de l'hégire, qui figure au folio 1 recto, semble la plus ancienne qui soit donnée dans cet ouvrage. Neskhi du XIVe siècle. 75 feuillets 23,5 sur 17 centimètres.

Two other notices of the manuscript have appeared, one in Zeki Velidi Togan's useful manual of history, as follows[2]: «Muḥammad bn ᶜAbd-i 'l-Calīl al-Samarqandī, *Muntaxab al-qand fī tārix-i samarqand* (A), h. 537/1142-3 te telif olunan bu eser bu müellifin aynı senede vefat eden üstadı Abū Ḥafṣ Nacm-u 'l-dīn ᶜUmar bn Muḥammad al-Nasafī'nin telifi olan *Kitāb-u 'l-qand fī tārīx-i samarqand* nam eserinin hulâsasıdır. Bu eserin eksik (75 varak), fakat çok eski bir nüshası Paris Arab, N. 6284 te bulunmaktadır. Asıl Abū Ḥafṣın eserinin farsça nüshasından parçalar Petersburg Asya Müzesinde N. Aa 574 ag, Abb 574 ag ve Petersburg üniversite kütüphanesinde N. 859 (C) de bulunmaktadır, ki bazı parçalarını Barthold, *Turkestan v epoxu mongol. naşestviya*, I, 48-51 de neşredilmiştir.»

The final notice is by H. Ritter in *Oriens*[3]: «Die 438-444h verfasste gelehrtengeschichte von *Nasaf* und *Isfīcāb* von ᶜAbdalmalik b. al-Ḥusain b. ᶜAlī an-Nasafī (Al-Cawāhir al-muḍī'a fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīya nr. 894) liegt in dem Pariser arabischen codex nr, 6284 vor (in

[1] E. Blochet, *Catalague des manuscrits arabes des nouvelles acquisitions* (1884-1924), Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1925), 227.

[2] A. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Tarihte Usul* (Istanbul, 1950), 207.

[3] H. Ritter, «Arabische Handschriften in Anatolien und Istanbul», *Oriens*, 8 (1950), 71.

Blochet's Catalogue des Manuscrits arabes des nouvelles acquisitions, Paris 1925, nicht erkannt).

I read the Paris manuscript carefully to discover whether the author was mentioned in the text, but failed to find his name. On the other hand, some of his sources were named; in many places appeared the expression قال عن المستغفرى[1]. Abū'l-ʿAbbās Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Mustaγfīrī was a celebrated historian of Central Asia who wrote one history of Nasaf and another of Samarqand[2]. On folio 7a we find another source كتب عن الادريسى and on folios 8b, 9a, 2b, 55a, and elsewhere قال عن الادريسى This probably refers to Abū Saʿīd Idrīsī, who died in Samarqand in 405/1014; he was the author of a history of Samarqand[3]. It is probable, then, that excerpts from other historians are incorporated into the text under study. The number of people with the *nisba* al-Nasafī mentioned in the text is greater than the number of those with Buxārī, Samarqandī, or Balxī.

The text is a rather dull «Who's Who» of important persons who lived in various towns of Transoxiana from the second to the sixth century of the Hijra inclusive. I have found no dates after the year 600 A.H. The script of the manuscript becomes more cursive toward the end, and on folios 67a-69a it is particularly bad with points omitted - apparently written in haste. I give below a few brief notes on the contents and two reproductions- of folios 8a and 15b.

The manuscript is incomplete, starting with حمد بن عثمن الصيرفى ح احمد بن محمد الرازى ... and ending on folio 75b with ابن ابى حاتم الرازى دخل
نسف لسماع جامع البخارى من الدهقان ابى طلحه منصور بن محمد بن على بن مزينه البردوى وهو
خر من بقى ممن سمع صحاح البخارى منه بنسف مات بمرو سنة اثنين وسبعين وثلثماية قال المستغفرى
سمعته يقول دخلت نسف فى سماع من ابى طلحه و ... ؟

The only indication that the manuscript contains parts of a large work occurs on folio 18b باب الباء, on folio 24b باب الثاء, and on th same page باب الجيم. These are the only divisions in the manuscrip and they appear to have been lifted from another text and incorpo rated in our text with little thought of sequence. There is no alpha betical order of names, although careful study might reveal sma patches here and there in alphabetical order.

[1] E.g. folios 8 a, 3 b, 6 b, 7 a, 18 b, 19 a, 36 a, 56 b, 68 b.

[2] *Keşf-el-Zanun* of Kâtib Çelebi (Istanbul, 1941), 296, 308, and al-Samʿānī, *Kit al-Ansāb* (London, 1912), 528 b. He was a native of Nasaf; cf. folio 13 a of o manuscript.

[3] Cf. al-Samʿānī, *op cit.*, 22 b.

المالكي السيد العالم البليغ الكاتب الشاعر الناظم دخل ما وراء النهر وكان يعد ارا
وسمرقند وفرغانة ودار الملوك وناظر العلماء وافاد الفضلاء وله اشعار كثيرة بليغة
رائقة قاله بما وراء النهر ورسائل كتبها قال اخ السيخ الامام ابو محمد الحسن بن
احمد الكوخميثني السمرقندي اخ السيد العالم ابو الحسن عمران بن موسى المغربي بسمرقند
في ذلك في سكة ... من سكة ... يوم الاحد الثالث من ذي القعدة سنة اثنتين وثلثين
واربعمائة من حفظه بلفظه ح علي بن محمد بن عمر البجلي ... ح محمد بن يعقوب الاصم
ح محمد بن عبد الله بن الحكم ح انس بن عياض ح هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن حكيم بن
حزام رضي الله عنه ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال اليد العليا خير من اليد السفلى
وابدا بما تعول قال نجم الدين رحمه الله قال الكوخميثني انشدني المغربي هذا اليوم لنفسه شعر

مقامي بارض الصغد لا سقي الصغد ... مقام اسير قد تناهى به القيد
وقد اوحشتني بعد انس وجوهها ... فلا انس الا بوجه سمرقند
لها نفس شذا الى كانها ... يماني لها عيش وعيشي لها فقد
وما انفس الا اتجانى جموعهم ... كانى جمع مفرد ادهم فرد
ليانى بالشامين عود حميدة ... فقد طالت الاشواق واستحكم الوجد
وطول الى بعد اذ يهوي بنا الهوى ... وطول الى نجد وكل المنى نجد
سقى الله ارض المغربين غرابيا ... من المزن لا نهر حياها ولا شكل
بها سقراياني ترلغضن عودها ... وروض الصبا ريان والشعر مسود
الا ليت عقبا في العوالي ابصرت ... من اليوم من يسطو اعلى ومن يعدو
وكيف تعاودت بي تعالت شرقها ... وقد غاب عن نظري بمغربها الاسد
ساصبر للاقدار كيف تصرفت ... فلا تحسن الا كرم من بعده سعد

خياها

عمر

ذكر عمرو بن مالك ... والاخ المنهي اخ الفارسي اخ ابوادريس قال
اخبرني ابو بكر احمد بن علي بن الحسن بن ... الفنجيري بها ح محمد بن حامد بن
... ابو الحسن علي بن ... السمرقندي

For the rest, the text is interesting for Arabic and especially Iranian onomastica (Sogdian as well as Persian). The name الكاغدى السمرقندى appears frequently, e. g.- folios 10a, 35b, 38b, 40a, 53a. The الباهلى account of the Arab conquests in Central Asia is mentioned on folio 26a, 53b, and elsewhere[1]. On folio 12b: هذا قبر عامر بن شراحيل الشعبى قالوا دخل سمرقند وقدم فرغانه وكان مستخفيا من الحجاج فاحتاج قتيبة بن مسلم الى وضع كتاب الى الحجاج فى فتح فتحه (؟) وقسمة غنيمة وتوديع السهام فاعياهم ذلك حتى وضعه الشعبى فاشدد عمرو بن اعيار الخزاعى من اهل سمرقند وقتل الى مرو وذلك سنة خمس يدك به and 16a: وثلثين ومائه وقتله بمرو والى خراسان عبد الجبار بن عبدالرحمن فى ايام ابى جعفر المنصور سنة اثنى واربعين ومائه The names الاخسيكثى from the town Axsīkaθ (Sogdian), السجزى from Seistan, and البناكثى from the town in Transoxiana, appear frequently.

The geneaology of the rulers of Samarqand is given on folios 38b, 50a, and 70a: ذكر ابى احمد عبدالعزيز بن محمد بن المرزبان بن تركش ابق بن كشير بن طرخون بن كنادرنكث بن غورك ملك سمرقند فى الجاهلية والاسلام .

Folio 50a has بنابجور for كنادرنكث (كنارنكث)[2]. Folio 40a mentions Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ghiṭrīfī, of Ghitrīfī coin fame, and 41b, 42b ذكره البخارى فى تاريخه , referring to the history of Buxārā by Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Buxārī who died in 312/924.

On folio 45a we find a certain مالك بن منغول . one of the earliest appearances of the na‑ «Mongol» in Islamic soruces.

Other interesting names: folio 45b. الشيخ الامام عبدالمجيد بن يوسف بن شعيب بنال الشلجيكثى (a Turk?); folio 47a عمداد بن اسرائيل الطرازى (evidence of Khazar-Jewish influence?); 49a وحدث فى كتاب محمد بن المكى بن محمد الجوسقى and 50b where the translator of Narşaxī's *History of Buxārā*, القباوى is mentioned. Two authors are noted, on folio 53a[3]: القاضى الامام ابى ابى حفص عمر بن محمد بن بحير بن خازم بن راشد زيد عبيدالله بن عمر عيسى الدبوسى صاحب الاسرار والتقويم البحيرى الهمدانى السندى صاحب الجامع الصحيح والتفسير والسفينة and 54b: Other interesting names are 53a: الشيركثى and 59a كان بروسيكث (city of the Rūs?).

On folio 64b the genealogy of Ismaʿil ibn Aḥmad Samanī is given[4]:

1 H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in central Asia* (London, 1923). 13.

2 On the rulers of Samarqand cf. Frye, «Ṭarxān ~ Türxün and Central Asian History»; *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 14 (1951).

3 Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, S. I, 296.

4 Compare the genealogy given by al-Bīrūnī, *Athar*, ed. Sachau, 39.

ذكر ابى ابراهيم اسمعيل بن احمد بن اسد بن سامان بن جيشيان بن نوشرد بن سامطفان بن بهرام
الملك والى خراسان كان من افاضل الامرآء ممن يعدل فى احكامه مشفقاً على رعيته به يضرب المثل فى
حسن الخلق والمشرة والرغبه فى الجهاد وقتال الكفرة وكان كثير الجند وهم اربعة اخوه نصر واسحق
ويعقوب واسميل ...

More interesting names are: 64b خشمنجكث and ابراهيم بن نصر الكبودنجكثى ,
67b الكسبوى 69a اوزكندى (so early!) , 69b عيسى بن محمد ابوالقسم الوسقندى and
71a ابى بكر الكاتب الايشتدى قريه من قرى نسف هو also احمد بن طاهر النسفى الخورفغنى
احمد بن محمد بن حامد بن نعيم بن الفضيل بن سهل بن فرخان بن ماهان بن بهرام بن ماهويه
مرزبان مرو ...

73b a man from Firankaθ احمد بن محمد الفرنكدى .

I have not gone into detail for the book is of interest only to those concerned with Central Asian «Namenkunde.» I hope I have indicated enough, however, to show that the book is not a history of Nasaf or Samarqand but a compilation from a number of sources.

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CITY CHRONICLES OF CENTRAL ASIA AND KHURASAN: THE KITĀB-E MULLĀZĀDE

Avicenna Commemoration Volume, Iran Society
Calcutta

CITY CHRONICLES OF CENTRAL ASIA AND KHURASAN: THE *KITĀB-E MULLĀZĀDE*

This is the third of a series of short articles on a neglected subject—city chronicles.[1] Unlike the two preceding works the ***Kitāb**-e mullāzāde* by a certain Aḥmad b. Muḥammad called *Mo'īn **al**-fuqarā'* has been printed and used by scholars, but the edition was not critical and leaves much to be desired.[2] The book is primarily a list of learned and holy men from Bukhara with some interesting biographical information buried here and there in a mass of names, on the whole boring to read.

The first scholar to make extensive use of the book was the Russian orientalist V. V. Bartold, who appended extracts of the Persian text to the Russian edition of his great work, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion.* Bartold had a high opinion of the author for he says, 'from the chronological data quoted in his book it is evident that he did not live before the fifteenth century, and the accuracy of these data proves that he made use of his sources with the utmost conscientiousness.'[3] Omeljan Pritsak, leading specialist on the history of Central Asia in Islamic times, wrote a short excursus on the *Kitāb-e mullāzāde* to his article, Āl-i Burhān, in which he proposed that one could date the book shortly after 814/1411-12.[4] He is convincing in this dating.[5] The present remarks are based on the Tehran, Majlis *MS.*, 225, which begins تاریخ بخارا موسوم برساله ملازاده Since the folios are numbered as pages in the MS. I refer to the page number as written. On page 2 we read:

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[1] R. N. Frye, 'City Chronicles of Central Asia and Khurasan: A History of Nasaf?' *Fuad Köprülü Armağanī* (Istanbul, 1953), 165–168, two plates. I take this opportunity to cancel the statement in the middle of p. 167 regarding مالك بن مغول. This name is to be read Mighwal not Moghūl. Also my 'City Chronicles of Central Asia and Khurasan: the *Ta'rīx-e Nīšāpūr,*' in the forthcoming *Festschrift* for Zeki Velidi Togan, professor of History at the University of Istanbul.

[2] I saw the edition of Bukhara 1904 through the good offices of Sa'īd Nafīsī in Tehran.

[3] *Turkestan* (London, 1928), 58.

[4] O. Pritsak, Āl-i Burhan, *Der Islam*, 30 (1952), 95-6.

[5] Cf. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, Volume I, part 2 (London, 1953), 953.

ابتداء فتح بخارا واقع شد کرّت دوّم که فتح واقع شد در سنة تسعین من الهجرة بود که عهد تابعین و تبع تابعین است رضی الله عنهم و بناء مسجد جامع بخارا که قتیبه رضی الله عنه بناء کرده است در سنة اربع و تسعین من الهجرة بود و این سال از جملهٔ آن ده سال است که جامع بنی امیّه در دمشق در آن ده سال بناء شده است، دیگر قتل قتیبه رضی الله عنه مع اخیه بفرغانه در سنة ستّ و تسعین بوده است.

The information above is in accord with Narshakhī's *History o Bukhara* and other sources, that the final conquest of Bukhara wa in 90 A.H., the building of the *masjid-e jāmi'* in 94, about ten years after the building of the mosque of the Umayyads in Damascus, and that Qutaiba and his brother were killed in Ferghana in 96. This is further indication of the reliability of the author.

On page 3 the author says that the book *Akhbār-e Bukhārā* by Narshakhī was written in the year 337/948, although in Narshakhī's work the date of writing is given as 332/943.[1] Other sources give the date 337, as I mentioned in my translation of Narshakhī's book, but it is impossible to determine which date is correct since both are well inside the reign of the Samanid ruler to whom Narshakhī dedicated his book. Perhaps the earlier date represents the commencement of writing of the book and the other the conclusion.

In page 3 the genealogy of the historian of Bukhara, Ghunjār is given. It is somewhat different than that given by Sam'ānī in his *Kitāb al-ansāb*.[2]

ابو عبد الله محمد بن احمد بن محمد بن سلیمن بن کامل البخاری الوراق المعروف غنجار الحافظ رحمه الله که صاحب تاریخ بخارا است.

Further information about him is found on page 23, including the date of his death in Sarakhs in 185 A.H.

و او را غنجار لقب از آنجهت بود که تبتع حدیث الامام المحدث عیسی بن موسی التیمی الغنجار رحمه الله کرته است، وفات او در سنة اثنتی عشرة و اربعائه بوده است و عیسی بن موسی الغنجار هم لز اهل بخاراست و از متقدمان اهل حدیث است امّا وفات او در سنة خمس و ثمانین و مائه و او را لقب غنجار از برای آن گفته اند که هر دو رخسار مبارک او سرخ بوده است.

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[1] R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara* (Cambridge, Mass. 1954), XVII, note 9 and p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, 103, note 8.

There is much information on the Bukharan sage and holy man Abū Ḥafṣ Kabīr al-Bukharī.[1] While the manuscripts of Narshakhī's history gave the reading Ḥafṣ, in the *Kitāb-e mullāzāde* it is regularly Abū Ḥafḍ ابو حفض . On page 15 the author gives his genealogy:

و ذکر مزارات خواجه الشیخ الامام العالم العامل خواجه ابو حفض (حفص)
احمد بن حفض بن الزبرقان بن عبد الله بن ابجر العجلی البخاری رحمه الله، ولادت
حضرت او در سنة خمسین و مایه بوده است و در همین سال ولادت امام شافعی
و وفات امام اعظم ابو حنیفه است، و وفات خواجه ابو حفض رحمه الله در سنة
سبع عشر و مأتان بوده است.

On pages 17 a 18 the author speaks of Abū Ḥafṣ al-ṣaghīr 'the minor', perhaps a son of the former.[2] The grave of the Imām Ḥafṣ Kabīr Bukharī is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage in the *Ta'rīkh-e Samarqand*, known as *Qandiyye* (Samarqand, 1908), 171.

On page 21 Mo'īn al-fuqarā' says that the first Samanid ruler Isma'īl was learned and compiled *hadīths*, which is how I interpret the passage.

ابو ابراهیم اسمعیل بن احمد بن سامان مولی امیر المؤمنین رحمه الله کتب الحدیث
و قصصة فی العزّ و العدل و حرمة اهل العلم و تقویتهم مشهورة معروفة.

On page 22 the author gives the names of two brothers of Amīr Isma'īl Samanī, Naṣr and Isḥaq. The former had a son al-Ḥasan, who is not mentioned elsewhere.[3] The Ya'qūb b. Isḥaq b. Aḥmad mentioned below as a brother of Isma'īl was probably his nephew, and one should emend the text to read Abū Ya'qūb Isḥaq. Narshakhī only mentions one son of Isḥaq, a certain Abū Ṣāliḥ Manṣūr, but this does not mean there were no other sons.[4]

و سلطان اسمعیل را دو برادر بود یکی ابو الحسن نصر بن احمد و او نیز عالم بود
و از اهل حدیث، وفات او در جمادی الآخر سنة تسع و سبعین و مأتان بوده است،
و برادر دیگر او یعقوب بن اسحق بن احمد حاکم بخارا بود و او نیز از اهل علم بود،
وفات او در قهندز بخارا بود در حالتی که محبوس بود در صفر سنة احدی و ثلثمائه،

[1] *Ibid.*, 139, note 203.

[2] The son of Abū Ḥafṣ mentioned in Narshakhī's *History of Bukhara*, op. cit., 56, is called Abū 'Abdallāh.

[3] In the *History of Bukhara*, op. cit., 83, 86, another son is called Aḥmad.

[4] *Ibid.*, 95.

و فرزند پادشاه اسمعیل در شب پنجشنبه ابو نصر احمد بن اسمعیل را غلامان او
شهید کردند در فربر برکنار جیحون

There is much information about the buildings of Bukhara but no information about pre-Islamic Bukhara as in the case of Narshakhī. It is interesting to compare the *History of Samarqand* which tells us that the grand mosque of Samarqand was built in pre-Islamic times, and when Samarqand was conquered by the Arabs the ruler was a certain Zabūr Shāh:[1]

این مسجد جامع که حالا در ولایت سمرقند است در زمان خلافت امیر المؤمنین
عثمان رضی الله عنه پادشاه سیزدهم بناء کرده است و این مسجد جامع در زمان
کفار معبد و بتخانهٔ کافران بوده است و در ایام (و ٣) خلافت امیر المؤمنین عثمان
رضی الله عنه ولایت سمرقند را فتح کرده اند (کذا) و آن بتان را شکستند و بتخانه را
ویران کرده اند و بجای آن این مسجد جامع را بناء کرده اند ... و در آن وقت
پادشاه سمرقند زبور شاه نام داشت و از ترس حضرت شاه زنده گریخته در کوهستان
فرار گرفت با پنجاه هزار کس جنگی .

The book, *Kitāb-e mullāzāde*, has many important items of information about the post-Samanid period of the history of Bukhara, but I refrain from giving further information about the *Ṣadr* rulers of Bukhara, that interesting local *mullā* dynasty subordinate to the Qarakhanid and Qara Khitay rulers, for Omeljan Pritsak is concerned with this and writes that a dissertation on the *Kitāb-e mullāzāde* is being prepared at Göttingen University by Wolfgang Hils.[2]

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[1] *Ta'rīkh-e Samarqand (Qandiyye)*, (Samarqand, 1908), 38-39.
[2] Pritsak, op. cit., 86, note 64.

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THE NEW PERSIAN PENAISSANCE IN WESTERN IRAN

Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of
Hamilton A.R. Gibb, 1965

THE NEW PERSIAN RENAISSANCE IN WESTERN IRAN

Inasmuch as Sir Hamilton Gibb in his writings has, among other things, been concerned with general, important literary problems, I thought it appropriate in a volume offered to him to discuss certain broad topics regarding the Persians under late Abbasid rule.

The so-called "New Persian Renaissance" in western Iran in the tenth and eleventh centuries is much less known and less appreciated than in Khurasan and Transoxiana. We do not find in western Iran the galaxy of literary men writing in New Persian, such as Rūdakī, Firdausī, ʿUnṣurī, Farrukhī, and others who were active in the east. Instead, we find writers such as Badīʿ al-Zamān of Hamadan (d. 1007), who wrote his famous *Maqāmāt* in Arabic, the great physician Abū ʿAlī b. Sīna (Avicenna, ca. 1037) who wrote many books on various subjects, all in Arabic save the *Dānešnāme'ye ʿAlā'ī* (in honor of the Buwaihid ʿAlāʾ al-Daula of Isfahan). [1] Even the local histories of Qum and Isfahan dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. were written in Arabic. [2] The same was true, for the most part, in poetry; for example, a poet of the Buwaihid period, Mihyār al-Dailamī (d. 1037), was a Zoroastrian who became a Muslim and wrote verses in Arabic. [3] It is true that there were a few poets in western Iran who wrote in New Persian, as well as in dialects of Persian, but they were relatively unimportant [4] The productions in Arabic overshadowed any in Persian, which was only natural, according to

[1] The division between eastern and western Iran has been mentioned by many writers, including E. G. Browne in his *A Literary History of Persia.* This division also obtains in art and in its sub-field of scripts, where it has not received attention. Somewhere in Khurasan, possibly in Nīsābūr under the Ṭāhirids a special form of the Arabic Kufic alphabet was evolved, called "Iranian Kufic," or "rhomboid Kufic" by S. Stern (*BSOAS* XVI [1954], 398). This script was modified into a Naskhī script, found in the oldest Persian manuscript—the Vienna pharmacopoeia of al-Harawī, and was used in Khwarazm and by the Bulghars on the Volga.

[2] C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, 348-349.

[3] Browne, *op. cit.*, II, 113.

[4] *Ibid.*. 92, 93, 158.

E. G. Browne, due to the proximity of Baghdad, the center of Islamic culture. On the other hand, Barthold perhaps exaggerates when he says "they [the Buwaihids] submitted wholly to the influence of Arabic literature while remaining indifferent to the Persian." [1]

One may say, generally speaking, that while in Khurasan and Transoxiana a New Persian literature was flourishing, in western Iran Arabic was dominant as a literary language. Works of science, philosophy, and the like, of course, were being composed in Arabic, both in eastern and western Iran. To explain this, one must look at the historical situation in the tenth century in western Iran.

At the same time that the Samanids were consolidating their power in Transoxiana, the Dailamites were expanding from their mountain strongholds in the Elburz range, and they were to dominate western Iran in the tenth and first half of the eleventh century. Minorsky has shown the importance of this expansion of the Caspian mountaineers, who established dynasties such as the Musāfirids in Azerbaijan, the Kākwaihids in Hamadan and Isfahan, and the most important, the Buwaihids. [2]

It is clear, from Arabic sources, that the Dailamites, in small groups, were migrating from their highlands to all parts of western Iran at the beginning of the tenth century, either as brigands, or more usually as mercenaries, much as the Turks from Central Asia. [3] Turkish and Dailamite regiments are frequently found side by side in the armies of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and one may add that they frequently clashed. [4]

The political history of the Buwaihids is now fairly well known. But what of the internal conditions in western Iran under these Shiʿites, the upholders of the Iranian national tradition, according to Minorsky? What was the religious position of the Buwaihids? By this I do not mean their formal religious adherence, but rather their attitude toward religion, especially as related to their "Iranian nationalism". We can find a number of interesting details indicating,

[1] W. Barthold, *Mussulman Culture*, trans. S. Suhrawardy (Calcutta, 1934), 84.

[2] V. Minorsky, *La Domination des Dailamites*, Société des Études Iraniennes, III (Paris, 1932), 8, 16-17. In this article I use Arabic forms of names rather than Persian.

[3] For example, when ʿAlī (ʿImād al-Daula) captured Isfahan, the Dailamites, who were mercenaries of the governor, deserted him for ʿAlī, enabling the latter to capture the town. They deserted to ʿAlī because they were Dailamites as he was. (*Cf. The Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate* by Miskawaih, trans. D. S. Margoliouth, I (Oxford, 1921), 317.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, 96.

on the whole, the great religious tolerance of these Shiʿite mountaineers. One might have expected fanaticism among the new Dailamite converts, who were won over by the missionaries of the Shiʿite sayyids at the end of the ninth century shortly before their expansion in Iran, but such does not seem to be the case. [1]

We find, for example, cases of Buwaihid sympathy for Zoroastrians in Fars province. In the *Firdaus al-murshidīya* of Shaikh Kāzarūnī (d. 426/1034), we read that the Zoroastrians in Kāzarūn were so strong that they prevented the shaikh from building a mosque. As the editor says, "The governor of Kāzarūn was a Zoroastrian, and the course of the conflicts between both parties (Zoroastrians and Muslims), and before the higher authorities in Shiraz, shows us how strong was the position of the Zoroastrians under the Bōyids." [2] At this time, Fakhr al-Mulk, a Buwaihid prince, was ruling in Fars, with his capital at Shiraz. The name of the governor of Kāzarūn was Khurshīd, but he is also called Dailam Majūsī, and he was a particular thorn in the flesh of the shaikh. [3] The prosyletizing activities of the shaikh caused so much trouble for the governor and the leaders of the Zoroastrian community that they protested to Fakhr al-Mulk, who ordered Shaikh Kāzarūnī to appear before him, where he was reprimanded for disturbing the peace, though he was not punished. [4] So there were Zoroastrians among the Dailamites as well as elsewhere in Iran.

From various sources we learn that the Dailamites often apostatized after ostensibly accepting Islam, and it would seem that religion played a rather subsidiary role in their lives. [5] Perhaps one could go further and suggest that the west Persian Renaissance which, in a sense, was more "intellectual" than literary, came to flourish because of the tolerance of the Shiʿite Dailamites. For the lack of emphasis on tradition among the Shiʿites, and lack of a real system of Shiʿite theology in this period, created a situation similar to the Muʿtazilite period of the Abbasid Caliphate, when Greek learning played an important role in the development of Islamic civilization. This

[1] Minorsky, *La Domination, passim*, and his "Caucasica IV," *BSOAS*, XV (1953), 514.

[2] F. Meier, ed., *Die Vita des Scheich Abū Isḥāq al-Kāzarūnī* (Leipzig, 1948), introduction, 20-21, 40, text 29-30.

[3] *Ibid.*, 115-116.

[4] *Ibid.*, 117, 121.

[5] See the references in A. Ateş, article "Deylem,"*Islam Ansiklopedisi*, III (1945), 569. Compare also the non-Islamic names in Ibn Isfandiyār's *History of Ṭabaristān*, for indication of long and widespread persistence of Zoroastrianism, or other non-Islamic beliefs, in the mountains.

parallel has been noted by A. Mez in his important work, *The Renaissance of Islam*, and is, I believe, quite valid. [1] One Arabic source tells how, in 341/952, Muʿizz al-Daula set free some preachers of the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul. [2] The fact that the Buwaihid princes maintained the Sunni caliphs in Baghdad, though attributed to political realism, nonetheless does show a religious tolerance on the part of the Shiʿite rulers. Although we have few sources, the same measure of tolerance seems to have obtained in Azerbaijan under the Dailamite Musāfirids, and one may suppose a similar tolerance, or laxity, under the minor Kurdish dynasties. The Dailamites as Shiʿites then were generally tolerant of Zoroastrians and, indeed, of all faiths, including their Sunni Muslim rivals. But this did not mean they were fanatically pro-Iranian; on the contrary, as relatively new converts to Shiʿism, it would seem they respected even more the *Arab traditions* of the family of ʿAlī and the general *Islamic Culture* about which we will speak.

At the same time, the Buwaihid princes were not above enforcing order, and to this extent we read of Rukn al-Daula ordering the Shiʿites of Qum to attend the mosque. [3] And Shaikh Kāzarūni said, "Do you know how the Dailamite and his followers obtained victory and secured the rule in Fārs? It was that when they made war they said, 'He, He, He,' and so emphasized God the Exalted, and kept Him in mind; as a matter of course, they seized cities and provinces". [4] In short, the religious spirit of the Buwaihids was conducive to a renaissance in western Iran. For example, the great savant Avicenna left Bukhara, after the fall of the Samanids, for Khwarezm, whence he fled from Maḥmūd of Ghazna to the west, and finally to the more congenial soil of Isfahan to work and write. We find similar cases of lesser scholars. Of course, their migration to the west was no doubt also prompted by the struggles between the Īlek Khans and the Ghaznavids, after the fall of the Samanid kingdom. Let us, however, examine in general terms the Buwaihid rule which was replaced in the middle of the eleventh century by the domination of the Seljuk Turks, for interesting parallels can be drawn between them.

The Dailamites were regarded as wild, barbarous people addicted to raiding and plundering. We hear of this in many Arabic sources

[1] Page 62 of the English translation by S. Khuda Bakhsh (Patna, 1937).
[2] *Loc. cit.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 60(referring to Maqdisī, 395).
[4] *Op. cit.*, 266.

such as the geographies written before or at the time of the expansion of the Dailamites. While one might have expected a strong element of religious fanaticism in the rather newly-Islamicized Dailamites at the beginning of Buwaihid rule, and incidentally also among the Seljuk Turks, in both cases the desire to become "cultured", to patronize the arts (and to present a good face for posterity?), was stronger than any possible fanaticism. Both Dailamites and Turks realized they were conquering more civilized and cultured people than themselves. It is important, in this regard, to keep in mind the supremacy of the Arabic language in the Islamic cultural world, which already had been formed by the third/ninth century A.D. There was no longer any question of the cultural orientation of Islamic society, as Professor Gibb remarked; no question as to whether it was to be a "re-embodiment of the old Perso-Aramaean culture into which the Arabic and Islamic elements would be absorbed, or a culture in which the Perso-Aramaean contributions would be subordinated to the Arab tradition and the Islamic values." [1] Both the Samanids in the east and the Buwaihids in the west came on the scene too late to alter this, if indeed they could have done so earlier. In the east, the Samanids, upholding orthodoxy, readily accepted the Islamic values of state and society, only tolerating and then patronizing a revival of Iranian ideals in literature, almost as a side issue. As Sunnites they were committed to the Islamic tradition, and the Iranian tradition came only as a *Nachklang*. With the Shiʿite Buwaihids it was too late to overthrow the well-entrenched Islamic tradition in *western Iran* closer to Baghdad, even had they so desired. Furthermore, the rude Dailamite mountaineers were hardly capable of imposing a rival Iranian tradition to compete with the eminently successful Islamic institutions. One wonders whether the story would have been different if the Buwaihids had conquered and held Khurasan and Transoxiana, rather than western Iran. However, even this is unlikely in view of the history of Khurasan in the second century of the hegira.

Put briefly, the Buwaihids were not basically committed to "Arab-Islamic" culture when they expanded, but they found it so well-entrenched in western Iran they had to accept and further it, which they did with alacrity. The Samanids, on the other hand, *were* committed to the "Arab-Islamic" culture by virtue of adherence to its Sunni religious, political and social aspects. Under them this culture

[1] H. A. R. Gibb, "The Social Significance of the Shuʿūbīya," *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen* (Copenhagen, 1954), 108.

became stronger, even though it was not so well-entrenched (at least culturally) as in western Iran.

Thus, when the Seljuks conquered Iran, and entered Baghdad in 1055, they found dominant everywhere an Islamic culture into which Iranian elements had been synthesized. The new Persian literary renaissance in the east was really Islamic, in spite of pre-Islamic Iranian echoes in it. The Shuʿūbīya movement had been long since disembowelled, as Gibb said. [1] So the Turks carried the Samanid version of the Persian Renaissance to the west with the consequent unification and stabilization of all Iran, culturally as well as politically, short lived though it was.

To be sure, Iranian concepts did not fuse completely everywhere and lose their identity in a general Islamic culture; Zoroastrians continued to exist in Iran, and the Ismaʿilis and others emphasized certain non-Islamic Iranian concepts, but these were outside of the main stream of development. [2]

To turn to another side of Buwaihid rule, the Seljuk Turks are credited with the giving of a coup de grace to the Abbasid Caliphate, of regularizing the division between caliph and sultan, and of creating the military fiefs or *iqṭāʿ* which feudalized the Near East. But Turks had been long in the Near East before the Seljuks, first as mercenaries, then as a praetorian guard (like the Germans in the Roman Empire), and all of the features mentioned above were in effect under the Buwaihids before the Seljuks arrived on the scene. The ownership of land was considerably changed by the Buwaihids, and much land was appropriated by the Buwaihid princes, to be parcelled out to their military chiefs, as has been shown by Professor Lambton. [3] One would suspect that the Dailamites, who in their mountain fortresses had lived in independence from central control, when they came on the Iranian plateau followed the same procedure as had obtained in the Caspian mountains. Although statistical sources are lacking, it would seem that the number of castles and walled towns grew under Buwaihid rule, and increased greatly under the Seljuk Atabeks, when Ghuzz tribesmen were moving through Iran. In other words, the Seljuk Turks, while continuing the Samanid ideal

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[1] *Ibid.*, 113.

[2] The researches of H. Corbin on the Ishraqī philosophy of Suhrawardī, and Ismaʿili doctrines in Iran, *after* the occupation of Alamūt, show that non-Islamic Iranian elements did not disappear.

[3] A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia* (Oxford, 1953), 50.

of a fused Islamic and Iranian culture followed the Buwaihids in the domain of land ownership, and perhaps of political rule. The leaven of Central Asiatic "steppe" political features which they brought to the Near East is another and involved question. Much study needs to be, and should be, done on the Central Asian system of non-hereditary, hierarchic rule which may be seen in the Qarākhānid (Īlek) state, and which certainly persisted into Ottoman and Mamluk times.

It should be emphasized that the Qarākhānids upheld old Turkish traditions of royalty and considered themselves as descendants of the Orkhon Turkic rulers. The Seljuks, on the other hand, were mere condottieri with no Turkic traditions of royalty. That is why a Turkic literature flourished under the Qarākhānids side by side with Persian, whereas under the Seljuks only the latter was used. [1]

The history of the Seljuks, and the great changes in the Islamic world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are far beyond the scope of this brief paper. I feel that Iran is now fully part of Islamic culture and society; there is little place here for the Iranist. It is rather the Islamist who explains the history of Iran until the time of the Safavids (and the Ottomans), when the modern history of the Near East begins. The Persians, however, played a great role in internationalizing Islam, by turning it from its Arab background and making of it a universal culture.

[1] Cf. my book on *Bukhara* (University of Oklahoma) now in press.

RICHARD N. FRYE
Harvard University

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A NEW ARABIC GEOGRAPHICAL MANUSCRIPT

Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. VIII,
No. 2, April 1949.

A NEW ARABIC GEOGRAPHICAL MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript treasures of the libraries of Istanbul represent the largest and most valuable collection of Islamic texts of any city in the world. Much has been written about these treasures, but they still remain inadequately catalogued and, for the most part, untouched.[1] In 1944, when in Istanbul, I was shown an interesting Arabic geographical text by Adnan Erzi Bey, now librarian of the Dil Kurumu in Ankara. It had been discovered by Ahmed Zeki Validi Togan in the Köprülü library, but it had not been fully described, nor was its existence recorded in the catalogue of the mosque library.[2]

The manuscript has no title but has been correctly identified by Zeki Validi as the *Ākām al-Marjān* of Isḥāq ibn Ḥusain, who lived in Spain in the eleventh century.[3] Part of this text was edited and translated by A. Codazzi in the "Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei" in 1929, based upon the late, and at that time unicum, manuscript of the Ambrosiana collection in Milan.[4] We are not concerned here with the life or writings of Isḥāq ibn Ḥusain, but only with the Köprülü MS and its contents. It contains more pages than the Ambrosiana MS, which is incomplete, and breaks off in the middle of the account of the land of the Turks.[5]

The Köprülü MS No. 1623 is a "Sammelband" of 319 pages. The manuscript is 9 × 24.5 cm., a size which is characteristic of many manuscripts from Yemen. The writing leaves ample margins on all sides, filling 6 × 19.5 cm. of the page. On the title-page is found the caption *Majmūʿ nafīs fī'l ta'rīkh.* It is bound in leather, and the paper is thick, glossy, and probably old, although such manuscripts are frequently quite deceptive in appearance and may be judged much older than they really are. So our manuscript may not be much older than the Ambrosiana MS. The script varies and frequently lacks points. On the title-page in another, and probably later, hand the volume is said to contain forty-seven *risāle.* The portion belonging to the *Ākām al-M...jān* is contained in folios 201*a*–222*a*, where a short account of the Zoroastrian theory of time cycles begins. Even this may belong to the work of Isḥāq ibn Ḥusain (it is probably borrowed), but it is here that the geographical portion ends with an account of the land of *Zbkh* (Zabbaj). The first page, 201, gives an account of the seven climes and what lies in each. Most of the words are unpointed, and the text is difficult to read in many places.

We shall deal only with folios 218*b*–220*b*, including accounts of the lands

[1] Cf. "Oriental Studies in Turkey during the war," *JAOS*, LXV (1945), 204–6.

[2] Professor Hellmut Ritter had the portion of the manuscript which I needed photographed and gave generously of his time and knowledge in the reading of difficult passages. I also wish to thank Professor G. Levi Della Vida and Adnan Erzi Bey for their kindness and aid.

[3] A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht* (*AFKM* [Leipzig, 1939]), p. 197 n. At the beginning of the manuscript this section is simply called *Risāle fī l Aqālīm.*

[4] For further references see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Suppl. I, p. 405; 2d ed., I (1943) 258.

[5] The Ambrosiana MS will henceforth be designated as "A."

of the Khazars, the Turks, the Toghuzghuzz, Yājūj and Mājūj, and China. The preceding sections have few readings at variance with A. On the whole nothing of great significance is found in the information provided by our author, but several items are interesting, as shall be noted. Comparisons with other geographers are also mentioned.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAND AL-KHAZAR AND AL-SHĀSH

This section has been edited and translated by Codazzi, while supplementary notes have been made by Minorsky.[6] There are only a few additional remarks to be made. The last word in the title in A is السباب, while we clearly have الشاش in our manuscript; Minorsky thought that this was the name of the Khazar capital, "which appears in the book of *Ibn Rusta* as سارعشن, in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* as ساوعر, in the geography of al-Bakrī as بارغيش."[7] This interpretation is doubtful (1) because of the distinct reading al-Shāsh in the Köprülü MS and (2) because of a phrase found in our manuscript, omitted in A, which follows the statement regarding the women who are free to choose their husbands. There was obviously something missing, which is found in Minorsky's notes as: "9. It (this country) is situated in the plains."[8] Our manuscript, however, reads: *wa madinatuhum al-aẓīmatu yuqālu lahā Sarghīsh wa hiyā* . . . [the name is unpointed]." It would be strange if the scribe copied the name correct in the text and wrote Shāsh for it in the title. But is the name *Shāsh* in the title correct? The district and city of Shāsh in Turkestan was far from the land of the Khazars, and the only connection which we know to have existed between the two was the extensive trade. The Khazar kingdom at one time extended into the eastern steppes, but the extent is unknown. Any attempt to amend the name Shāsh is hazardous, and I have been unable to find a satisfactory explanation.

The first sentence, after the title reads: "It is a vast land which lies between the confines of. . . ." The Köprülü MS has "*fī mā bain ḥudūd,*" while A has only "*fī ḥudūd.*" The next word was unreadable for both scribes. The scribe of the Köprülü MS copied a word which looks like a *sīn* followed by a *dāl*. Minorsky's reading *Sarīr* is unjustified by the readings of both manuscripts, but it was, of course, proposed by him on logical grounds. In view of the reading, "it lies between the confines of . . . ," I thought the word *sadd*, "barrier, mountain, or wall," might apply; but speculation is of little avail here.

Further we read: "among their cities is the city of Bulghār, which is in subjection to the king of the Khazars." The city is plainly Bulghār (with a *ghain*) in the Köprülü MS, while A has *Bulkār*, which Minorsky has interpreted as the city of Balanjar in the Caucasus Mountains.[9] This is probably an error, for Balanjar was part of the Khazar domain, and our author had no need to say that it was in subjection to the Khazars. Bulghār is certainly to be preferred, for Ibn Faḍlān tells us that the town of Bulghār, on the Volga River, was under the authority of the Khazars.[10]

The reading of the name of the second city was unclear, and Minorsky proposed a combination of two names, one found in *Ibn Rusta*, and the other in *Ibn Khurdādhbih*. The reading in our manuscript is

[6] V. Minorsky, "The Khazars and the Turks in the Ākām al-Marjān," *BSOS*, IX (1937), 141–50.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[10] Togan, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

just as unclear, الطارف, and does not aid in solving the problem.

The translation of the accounts of the lands of the Turks, the Toghuzghuzz, Yājūj and Mājūj, and China follows.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAND OF THE TURKS[11]

It is a great, vast land adjoining the sea of Shāsh[12] on the north and the land of the Toghuzghuzz on the east. They are a valiant and courageous folk with (fine) aspects and bodies. They are the most skilful of people in the preparation of felt, for it [219a] serves them as garments. They have beasts of burden. Their crop is millet and their (chief) sustenance is milk. They (also) indulge in hunting.

Their land is very cold with much snow. They store away meat in the winter. They have holes (in the ground) which they enter (to escape) the rigors of the cold.

They are idol-worshipers and burn their dead. They pray twice a day and fast (only) one day. The river (of their country) flows into the sea of Ṭabaristān. In it are fish which cling to the feet of beasts of burden. (The river) dries up in the summer, and they (the Turks) drink only from marshes. In (their country) is a large mountain with a tree upon it, on which are the marks of two hands, two feet, and a knee, as if (it were a man) worshiping. (Every one who passes by) worships (bows to) him (i.e., the figure).[13] In (the country) are untamed horses which have become wild in the deserts [end of A], and they are extremely handsome and fleet. They belonged to the kings of the Persians. When they (the Turks) defeated them (i.e., the kings of the Persians), they (the horses) scattered into the deserts.

The towns of the Turks are small, for they are (composed of) tents in which they take up their abode, having a segmented[14] and ribbed cupola and black side-coverings,[15] and made of the skins of cattle and pack horses.[16]

They do not have iron, so they make their arrows and lances of bone. Their principal city is Chīnānjkath.[17] It lies between rugged mountains in which there are mines of gold.

The people are idol-worshipers. They have one holiday in the year on which the people of every village go out with their idols to a place (where there is) a spring and trees. Then they set up (the idols) and cast lots. Thereupon one of (the people), who is *kāhin*,[18] approaches them and walks around them for a time. Then he approaches them (i.e., the people) and informs them what will transpire, (both) good and evil, during the year. This *kāhin* comes from a well-known family.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAND OF THE TOGHUZGHUZZ[19]

It is a great and extensive country extending to the wall of Yājūj and Mājūj. It has a powerful government and numerous armies. They are nine tribes. Their king has three hundred and sixty slave girls, equal in number to the days of the year, and a thousand men whom he has chosen to keep him company in turn (i.e., one after the other). Their drink is the juice of grapes. The common people see

[11] Minorsky (*op. cit.*, p. 148) has shown that this section deals with the Kimāk. Further evidence to support this contention is found in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, translated by Minorsky (London, 1937), pp. 99–100, as well as in Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī's book, translated by V. Minorsky (London, 1942), p. 32. The extreme cold, snow, and underground dwellings of the Kimāk are mentioned in all of them.

[12] The manuscript has *al-Shāmī*; cf. Minorsky, *BSOS*, IX (1937), 148. Codazzi amended the text to read *Shimālī*, which is also possible. *Baḥr al-Shāmī* (Mediterranean) is out of the question.

[13] The same is found in *Qazwīnī* (*El-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, Zweiter Theil, ed. F. Wüstenfeld [Göttingen, 1848], p. 395, l. 22). This is probably taken from *al-Bīrūnī* (*Chronology*, ed. E. Sachau [Leipzig, 1878]), p. 264.

[14] مركبة. The sense is uncertain.

[15] ستائر pl. of ستارة

[16] *Qazwīnī*, p. 395, l. 13, says: "The houses of the Kimāk are (made of) the skins of animals." The reading of this passage in our text is uncertain.

[17] The reading of this word is uncertain. Chīnānjkath was the capital of the Uighurs in Chinese Turkestan. Cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 94, and Zeki-Validi Togan, *Bīrūnī's Picture of the World* (New Delhi, 1939), p. 51. The name occurs in Sogdian as *čyn'nčkndy* (oblique case) "The Chinese Town" (Turfan) in the *Maḥrnāmag* (F. W. K. Müller, "Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichäischen Hymnenbuch," *APAW*, 1912, p. 10, l. 55). *Kath* is Sogdian for "town"; *kaθ* < *kanθ*.

[18] A *kāhin* is a diviner or sorcerer; cf. "Kāhin" (art.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 624, or the *Handwörterbuch des Islam* (Leiden, 1941), p. 254. Probably the Altaic *shaman* is meant here.

[19] This chapter is discussed by Zeki Validi, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, pp. 197, 263, and 268.

the king only one day of the year. When he comes out the streets and roads are decorated [219*b*]. The people assemble in two rows. When he comes out, his chief minister (*wazīr*) takes the bridle of his horse. When all the people see him, they fall upon their faces worshiping. All the affairs of his kingdom are in the hands of his ministers and chamberlains.

Their clothes are of Chinese silk, and their appearance is like that of the people of China. The king has a girdle with which he girds himself.

They behave well toward prisoners, for they do not kill them. Their religion is the Manichean faith. Their king has intrusted (a group of men) to guard the wall. They beat on it with mallets in order to apprise Yājūj and Mājūj that the work is being continued on the wall, so that they (Yājūj and Mājūj) should not move. In the land of the Toghuzghuzz is a large mountain which is the highest of the mountains of the world. They pray on it and bring offerings and offer sacrifices. When they return the next year, the remains of bones and ashes are found there, unchanged by the winds or rains; rather they have remained.[20]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE WALL OF YĀJŪJ AND MĀJŪJ[21]

In the vicinity of the wall are many cities, in the (area) between the land of the Toghuzghuzz and China, which are in ruins. They are those laid waste by Yājūj and Mājūj in the time of their wickedness on earth. Near the wall are preserved wonderful remains of bricks of iron and blocks of brass, hammers and working tools. The wall lies between two great mountains, and no one climbs them because of their height, and (there is) a fissure between the mountains. The wall is constructed of blocks of iron fused with copper. Its width is one hundred and fifty lengths (of a man), and its height the same. Some of the land of Yājūj and Mājūj wage war on the others. The mountains and the seas encompass their land.

[20] This mountain has been located northwest of the town of Kucha in Chinese Turkestan by Zeki Validi (*ibid.*, p. 197 n.).

[21] The most complete information about the wall of Yājūj and Mājūj is probably found in Qazwīnī, *op.*

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAND OF CHINA[22]

It is a vast, great country. The furthest (external) part of it is bordered by the land of India, and the nearest (inner) part is bounded by the great sea in the west, and on the north by the dark sea. In the land of China are (found) fruits, vegetables, wheat, barley, and sugar. It is a beautiful, delightful country. Whoever goes there, from the people of every other city, settles there because of its charm. The largest city of China is Khānfū.[23] In it are tax-gatherers [220*a*] of the king for the sea.[24] They take from the merchants what they have brought from India and give a report of it to the king. Then that is taken from them and estimated, and their money (i.e., what is due them) is paid to them. They (the tax-gatherers) are generous to the traders. The most valued (articles) brought to them are the tusks of the elephant and (the horns) of the rhinoceros. They make ornaments for their women from them. They have much gold. It is so plentiful that they make chains of it for their dogs.[25] Saffron is (also) imported there. It is the most valued kind of perfume to them. Dates and raisins (are also imported). The traders carry from them brocade, silk, aloes wood, and musk.

Their clothes are of silk and their sleeves wide. They are short-boned in the head, and their faces are like those of the Turks.

One of their practices is that they register

[22] The chapter on China finds many parallels in other geographers. I have not attempted to study the text traditions and borrowings of the different geographers, which is a special study.

[23] The manuscript is corrupt. The word in the manuscript only means "beautiful." I read "Khānfū," a large port on the Chinese coast. A passage similar to this is found in the *Bahjat al-tawārikh* of Shukrallāh Shirwānī, manuscript of the University of Istanbul library, F 801, fol. 18*b*. The name of the town there is *hjr*.

[24] On the tax-collectors who collect taxes from merchants in the ports cf. Sharaf al-Zamān Marvazī, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–23, and the *Akhbār al-Zamān*, attributed to Mas'ūdī (Cairo, 1938), p. 71; translated by Carra de Vaux, *L'Abrégé des Merveilles* ("Actes de la Société Philologique," Vol. XXVI [Paris, 1897]), pp. 59, 162.

[25] The rhinoceros horn and golden chains for dogs are mentioned in the *Akhbār al-Zamān*, p. 72, l. 17

everyone who is born and everyone who dies, lest it be concealed from the king; for they all pay their taxes to him.[26] When a man reaches seventy years of age, and the paying of the tax becomes difficult, (the tax) is remitted to him and the government pays him (his sustenance).[27] When one of them dies, he is buried only in the city in which he was born, and on the day and hour in which he was born. They place their dead in coffins, preserving the dead a thousand years or more. The dead are mourned for three years.[28] His people (the dead person's) refrain from eating delicacies or wearing fineries. Whoever does not do that is suspected of having killed (the dead), and the government punishes him. One can inherit, from what the dead left behind, only what has been expended during his lifetime.[29]

The women go about with unveiled faces and hair. The care of orphans is by the state for their subsistence and clothing. Both the common (people) and the great pray. They do not rise until the prayer is finished. The government punishes no one until he confesses his crime.[30]

They are a loyal (lit. healthy) and well-intentioned people. None of the common folk are denied access to the king. The city of China where the king dwells is the city of Khumdān.[31] They have diving-places in the sea for fine pearls.

In their land is a mountain of ruby encompassed by an island of jewels and silver in the "Dark Sea."[32]

The doors of their houses are of ebony [220*b*]. The king is worshiped, and nothing is done until the horoscope is made known. When rains are withheld from them, they take out the idols and bring offerings to them.[33]

China has three hundred and sixty cities.[34]

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

[26] Cf. Marvazī, *op. cit.*, p. 23 bottom.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 24, l. 8. The account of the coffins is found in other geographers. The *Akhbār al-Zamān*, p. 71 (trans., p. 118), says that the Chinese placed their corpses inside idols of gold which they worshiped.

[29] Professor Della Vida suggests that the meaning of this sentence might be "(the punished one) can only inherit, from what the dead left behind, what barely pays for his livelihood.

[30] Marvazī, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[31] This town is certainly *Khumdān* or *Ch'ang-an*, western capital of the T'ang Dynasty; in Sogdian *xwmt'n*; cf. *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, VIII (1938), 25, nn. 9 and 10.

[32] This passage is unclear. Compare a sentence in an *Iqlim Nāmeh* by Muḥammad ibn Ḥājjī ʿAli in the Top Kapu Saray Museum of Istanbul, uncatalogued, fol. 8*b*: "There is much gold in the land of China, and jewels and rubies in a mountain there."

[33] The history of Gardīzī, ed. V. Bartold in *Zapiski Akad. Nauk*, I (8th ser.; St. Petersburg, 1897), 93: "When the king wishes to have intercourse, the astrologers go on the roof of the palace and cast the horoscope." Cf. also Marvazī, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[34] Also in the *Akhbār al-Zamān*, p. 71 (trans., p. 118).

] ذكر بلاد الترك [وهى بلاد عظيمة واسعة
تتصل بالبحر الشاش (الشامى :MS) فى الشمال وبلاد التغزغز
فى الشرق وهم اهل بأس ونجدة ولهم مناظر
واجسام وهم أَحْذَقُ الناس بعمل اللبود لانّها [219a]
مَلْبَسُهُم ولهم مواشى وزرعهم الدخن وغذائُهم (غذاهم :MS)
الالبان والصيد عندهم وبلادهم كثيرة البرد والثلج
فهم يدّخرون اللحوم فى الشتاء ولهم اسراب
يدخلون فيهامن شدة البرد وهم عبدة الاوثان
وهم يحرقون موتاهم ويُصلّون مرتين فى النهار
ويصومون يومًا واحدًا ونهرها ينصبّ فى بحر
طبرستان وفيه سمك يتعلّق بارجل الدوابّ
ويجف فى الصيف ولا يشربون الا من بطائح وفيها
جبل عظيم وفيها شجرة فيها آثار يدين ورجلين
وركبة كانّه ساجد وكل خاطر عليها يسجد له
وفيها خيل ممتنعة قد توحّشت فى القفار (End of A) وهى
غاية فى العتق والفراهة كانت لملوك الفرس فلمّا

FIG. 1.—Köprülü MS No. 1623 (transcription of col. 218b, l. 26, to col. 219a, l. 12)

تغلبت عليهم تفرقت (تفزعت .poss معاه ىعرهسـ :MS) فى الصحارى ومداين
الترك قليلة انّما هى خيام يأوون اليها فى قُبّة
مركّبة مضلعة ستائرها سود من جلود البقر
والدوابّ وليس عندهم حديد فهم يصنعون
سهامهم ورماحهم من العظام ومدينتهم العظمى
چيناغكث (حساكسـ :MS) وهى بين جبال صعبة وفيها معادن
الذهب واهلها عبدة (عبد :MS) الأوثان ولهم يوم عيد فى
السنة يخرج فيه اهل كل قرية باصنامهم الى موضع
فيه عين واشجار فيصفّونها ويضربون بالقدح
ثم يقوم رجل منهم الى الاصنام وهو كاهن فيستديرها (فيستدبرها :MS)
زمانًا ثم يخرج اليهم فيخبرهم ما يكون فى تلك السنة
من خير او من شرّ وهذا الكاهن من نسل معروف
] ذكر بلاد التغزغز [وهى بلاد عظيمة كبيرة
تتصل بسدّ ياجوج وماجوج ولها مملكة عظيمة
وجنود كثيرة وهم تسع قبائل ولملكهم ثلثمائة
وستين جارية على عدد ايام السنة وألف رجل قد
(MS: قدقد, scribal error)

FIG. 2.—Köprülü MS No. 1623 (transcription of col. 219a, ll. 13–28 incl.)

٣

اصطفاهم لمنادمته بالدول و شرابهم
عصير العنب والملك لا ينظره العامّة الّا يومًا
واحدًا (يوم واحد: MS) فى السنة واذا خرج لبست الازقّة والطرق
(219 b) ويجتمع الناس سماطان فاذا خرج اخذ وزيره
بعنان فرسه فاذا رأوه جميع الناس خرّوا (خرو: MS) له
ساجدين وجميع امورمملكته انّما تجرى على
يدى وزرائه (وزراه: MS) وحجّابه ولباسهم الحرير الصينى
وزيّهم مثل زيّ اهل الصين وللملك منطقة
يتحزّم بها وهم يحسنون للاسرى فلا يقتلوهم
ودينهم دين المانية وملكهم قد وكّل اقواما
بالسدّ يحرسونه ويضربون بالمطارق فيه
ليظنّ ياجوج و ماجوج ان العمل متماد فى السدّ
فلا يتحرّكون وفى بلاد التغزغز الجبل العظيم الذى هو
اعلى جبال الارض وفيه يدعون ويتقرّبون ويذبحون
الذبائح فاذا عادوا (عادو: MS) عامًا آخر وجدوا (وجد: MS)
تلك الأشياء

Fig. 3.—Köprülü MS No. 1623 (transcription of col. 219*a*, l. 29, to col. 219*b*, l. 12)

٤

من العظام والرماد لم يغيّرها (تغيّرها (?)) الرياح ولا الامطار بل باقية
ذكر سدّ ياجوج وماجوج و بقرب
السدّ مدائن كثيرة فيما بين بلاد التغزغز والصين
قد خربت وهى التى اخربها ياجوج وماجوج فى حين
فسادهم فى الارض وبقرب السدّ آثار عجيبة باقية
من لبن الحديد وزبر الصفر والمطارق وآلة العمل
والسدّ بين الجبلين العظمين لا يطلع فيهما (منها: MS) احد
لارتفاعهما (لارتفاعها: MS) وشقّ بين الجبلين والسدّ مبنىّ بزبر الحديد
مفروغة بالنحاس وسعته مائة وخمسون قامة
وارتفاعه مثل ذلك وبلاد ياجوج وماجوج يحارب
بعضهم بعضًا وقد احاطت ببلادهم الجبال والبحار
ذكر بلاد الصين وهى بلاد واسعة عظيمة
تتّصل الخارجة منها ببلاد الهند والداخلة قد
أحاط بها من جهة الغرب البحر الأعظم ومن جهة
الشرق البحر المظلم فى بلاد الصين الفواكه والبقول
والحنطة والشعير والسكّر وهى بلاد حسنة طيّبة

Fig. 4.—Köprülü MS No. 1623 (transcription of col. 219*b*, ll. 13–28 incl.)

٥

فمن دخلها من اهل كل بلد يستوطنها لطيبتها
ومدينة الصين العظمى مدينة جاهره (؟ خانفو: amend to) وفيها عمال
[220a] الملك على البحر يأخذون من التجار ما يجلبون من
الهند ويرفعون بأمره الى الملك فيقبض ذلك منهم
ويُقدّر و يدفع لهم اموالهم وهم يكرمون التجار
وارفع ما جُلب اليهم عظام الفيل و الكركدن
فيعملون منهم الحلى لنسائهم والذهب عندهم كثير
يستعملون منه لكثرته السلاسل للكلاب
ويُجلب اليها الزعفران وهو أرفعُ الطيب عندهم
والتمر والزبيب ويحمل التجار من عندهم الديباج
والحرير والعود و المسك ولباسهم الحرير و اكمامهم
واسعة وهم قصار عظام الرؤوس (الروس :MS) ووجوههم على
وجوه الترك فمن سيرهم انهم يكتبون كل من
يولد وكل من يموت لئلا يُخفى ذلك على الملك لأن جميعهم
يؤدّون الجزية اليه فاذا بلغ الرجل منهم سبعين (سبعون :MS)
سنة وصُعب الجزية مُنّ عليه وأنفق عليه السلطان
ومن مات منهم لم يدفن الا في البلد الذى ولد فيه

FIG. 5.—Köprülü MS No. 1623 (transcription of col. 219b, l. 29, to col. 220a, l. 15)

٦

وفى اليوم والساعة التى ولد فيها ويضعون
موتاهم فى توابيت تُبقى الميّت ألف سنة وازيد
والميت يُبكى عليه ثلث سنين ويمكث اهله لا يأكلون
طيّبًا ولا يلبسون حسنًا ومن لم يفعل ذلك أثّمهم
بقتله وعاقبه السلطان ولا يورث ما ترك الميّت
الاما ينفق فى حياته والنساء يمشون مكشوفات (مكسوفات :MS)
الوجوه والشعور وأمرُ الايتام للسلطان فى نفقتهم وكسوتهم
ويُصلّي صغيرهم وكبيرهم وصلاتهم لا تقوم (تعوم :MS) حتّى تتمّ
ولا يُعاقب السلطان احدًا (احد :MS) حتّى يعترف بذنبه وهم
اهل صحّة ونيّة خالصة ولا يُحجب احد عن الملك
من العامّة ومدينة خمدان (حمران :MS) هى مدينة الصين التى
يسكنها الملك ولهم مغايص فى البحر للؤلؤ النفيس
وفى بلادهم جبل الياقوت المحيط بجزيرة الجوهر
والفضّة فى البحر المظلم وابواب منازلهم من الابنوس
[220b] والملك يُسجد له ولا يُصنع شئ حتّى يعرف الطالع
واذا احتبست عنهم الامطار اخرجوا الاصنام
وتقربوا اليها والصين ثلثماية وستين بلدًا"

FIG. 6.—Köprülü MS No. 1623 (transcription of col. 220a, l. 16, to col. 220b, l. 3).

PLATE IX



Col. 219*a* Col. 218*b*

Köprülü MS No. 1623 (Transcription on Fig. 1 Begins with the Fourth Line from the end of Col. 218*b*)

PLATE X



Col. 220*a* Col. 219*b*

Köprülü MS No. 1623

PLATE XI



Col. 221*a* Col. 220*b*

KÖPRÜLÜ MS No. 1623 (TRANSCRIPTION ON FIG. 6 ENDS WITH THE THIRD LINE OF COL. 220*b*)

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THE ARABIC LANGUAGE IN KHURASAN

Iran Society Silver Jubilee Souvenir

The Arabic Language in Khurasan *

ONE may speak of a language as having three stages ; first the "official" written language, second, the "official" spoken language, and third, dialects. There are, of course, many other ways of classification, but here we shall be concerned with this division which is of use for historical purposes. Sometimes the three stages are very close to one another in one language and at other times, in another language, they are far apart. It should be noted that the word "official" is used more in the meaning of general consensus rather than a government decreed tongue. In the first century of the Hijra in Khurasan Arabic of the Qur'ānic style, if we may use such term to characterize the dialect of the Quraysh tribe, was the "official" written language. Arabic of the dialect developed in Kufa, rather than Basra, was probably the first "official" spoken language, while various Iranic dialects were spoken in Khurasan, as elsewhere in Iran. The second "official" spoken language was Persian, the kind spoken in the Sasanian court and bureaucracy. It is highly probable that many Arabs learned to speak an Iranian dialect, simply to communicate with the local people wherever the Arabs were staying or settled. By the fourth century of the Hijra the picture had changed and there were two "official" written languages, Arabic and New Persian, both using the Arabic alphabet. The "official" spoken language was now New Persian, although many Iranian dialects continued to be spoken. What happened to Arabic?

First, we must ask who used Arabic in Khurasan after the conquests of the Arab *Muqātalah*? In my opinion, Arabic was kept alive in Khurasan primarily by three classes : the *'Ulamā'*, including mystics, the *Udabā'*, including poets, and finally the *Kuttāb* or scribes in the bureaucracy. Who were they and from where did they come?

We know that in pre-Islamic times Persians and Arabs were in close contact with each other both in Iran and Arabia.[1] The pre-Islamic Arab poet 'Adī b. Zayd composed poems in Arabic and in

This is a lecture which the author delivered at the University of Baghdad in January, 1967.

I use the term Fersia and Persians for the western Iranians who inhabited most of the present political empire of Iran west of the central deserts. Iran and Iranian I use for all Iranians, not just Persians but Sogdians and others, and at the present the Afghans, Tajiks, Kurds, Baluchis and Ossetes.

Persian, and he was surely not unique, while Salmān al-Fārsī met a Persian woman in Mecca, also surely not alone. In a sense the history of the word *Tājīk* tells the history of Arabic in Iran. The word probably comes from the Arab tribe Ṭayy, plus a Middle Persian suffix, for the Ṭayy tribe was an important tribe in the Syrian desert in pre-Islamic times. The city of Hira was called Hērtā de-Tayyāyē in Syriac. Then Ṭayy became the general name for Arabs at the end of the Sasanian dynasty. In Khurasan and Central Asia the term, which first meant Arab, came to mean Muslim, whether Arab or Persian. Finally, since the Arabs were absorbed by the local population, the word Tājik came to mean all of the settled Iranian population as opposed to the nomadic Turks.

In Khurasan, as elsewhere, Arabic was the language of Islam, and in the Qur'ānic schools non-Arabs as well as the children of the Arab conquerors had to learn Arabic. But in order to speak with the majority of Persians, the Arabs settled in Persia had to learn Persian, which language the Arabs helped to spread in Central Asia where Sogdian, Khwarazmian and other Iranian languages were both spoken and written. In other words, both Arabic and New Persian became "official" in the *entire* Iranian area, and this accounts for the spread of New Persian to Central Asia in Islamic times. Among the *'ulamā'* in Khurasan and Transoxiana there must have been Arabs who taught the Qur'ān in both Arabic and Persian, for we know that Iranians did this. For example, Jāḥiẓ tells of a teacher called Mūsā b. Sayyār al-Uswārī, a Persian who would teach both Arabs and Persians in his classes, reading a verse of the Qur'ān and then explaining it in Arabic to the Arabs on his right and then in Persian to the Persians on his left.[1] The *'ulamā'* certainly contributed to the formation of an Arabic saturated New Persian literature which was Islamic, just as they, of course, continued to use Arabic in their writings. Therefore, I believe the Arabs were in some measure responsible for the spread of the New Persian language in Khurasan, and especially in Transoxiana, as well as, of course, Arabic.[2]

To turn to the *udabā'*, it is primarily the poets who promoted Arabic with the typical Arabic poetry of the Umayyad period in praise of tribe or self as in pre-Islamic times. We know that many of the

1 Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-Bayān* (Baghdad 1380|1960) vol. I, 368.

2 By New Persian I mean the "official" language of the Sasanian empire, plus Arabic, and using the Arabic alphabet in writing. By Persian alone I mean the "official" spoken language of the Sasanian Empire. This was called *Darī* by some Islamic writers. Middle Persian or Pahlavi was the "official" written language of the Sasanians which differed from the "official" spoken language primarily in its archaism, and, of course, the system of writing with Semitic masks.

Arab governors of Khurasan under the Umayyads were patrons of poets. For example, Ka'b al-Ashqarī of the tribe of Azd composed poems in praise of his patron al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, while the son of the latter, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, was praised by Thābit Quṭna, another poet.[1] There is nothing unusual in Arab poets writing for Arab governors of Khurasan, but when we find pure Persians writing Arabic poetry in exactly the same style and with the same motifs of tribal glory as Arabs, then we gain an insight into the use of Arabic in the eastern part of the caliphate as a vehicle also for non-Arabs. Ziyād al-A'jam, who died before the fall of the Umayyads, is perhaps the most striking example of a Persian who wrote Arabic poetry in the style of Arabs.[2]

There were other Persians who wrote Arabic poetry in the forms an Arab would use, but instead of being exactly the same in content, the Arabic poetry of such poets as Ismā'īl b. Yasār, and his son Ibrāhīm, contained a glorification of the Sasanian kings or of Persians as opposed to Arabs.[3] These Persian poets who wrote in Arabic, praising Iran and Iranians, were called *Shu'ūbī* poets. The important thing to remember about them, however, is that while they may have been anti-Arab, they were not anti-Islamic, and they did use the Arabic language in their writings superbly. I should like to suggest that one of the failures of the Ummayad Caliphate was the failure to separate Islam and Arabism. Islam had grown to become an international culture as well as a faith, and many Arabs did not realize this or did not want to come to terms with the wider development of Islam.

Some Arab poets, however, accepted the change. Even as early as Ibn Mufarrigh, an Arab poet who was in Khurasan but who died in Kirman in 69|689, we find the influence of Persian and of non-Arab mores effecting Arabic poetry. Ibn Mufarrigh wrote the earliest Persian couplet that we know in which both Arabic and Persian words are found.[4] Thus we do find Arabs accepting Iranian culture and composing poetry in Persian as well as Arabic, just as Persians composed in the same two languages.

To come finally to the *Kuttāb*, the scribes and secretaries, we have much less information. Arabic was not introduced into the chancery in Khurasan until 124|742, almost a hundred years after the conquest of Khurasan by the Arabs. Before that time only Persians or other Iranians served their Arab masters as scribes, since the difficult Pahlavi writing

1 Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Beirut 1955) vol. 13, pp. 90-120.
2 *Ibid.*, vol. 14, 230-245.
3 *Ibid.*, vol. 4, 239-264.
4 *Ibid.*, vol. 17, 106-149, especially 115 for the couplet.

was hardly a sphere in which Arabs could hope to excel. After the change to Arabic, however, Arabs did enter the bureaucracy and became scribes. They joined Persians and other Iranians who had learned Arabic, so here again, just as in the case of the poets, there was a fusion of peoples.

Some scnolars have blamed the non-Arabs in the bureaucracy for corrupting the Arabic language. Actually, it seems clear that both Arabs and non-Arabs corrupted it. The language of the Qur'ān, or of the Quraysh tribe, began to change after the expansion of the Arabs, and their settlement all over the Near East. The Umayyad caliphs were aware of this breakdown of Arabic, and that is one reason they sent their children to the nomads of the desert where they were to learn "correct" Arabic. This is a good indication that urbanization was just as important a factor in the breakdown of "correct" Arabic, as the influx of non-Arabs into Islam. As a matter of fact, the Arab geographer al-Muqaddasī said that the most correct Arabic was spoken in the east of the Islamic world.[1] This is understandable when we remember that people preserved the original language of the Arab conquerors in Khurasan, a non-Arabic speaking area, better than in Iraq, where that same language had evolved and changed because of local Arabic dialects.

In conclusion, I think it is safe to say that Persians and other Iranians helped to preserve Arabic and certainly to spread it. The great grammarians, such as Sībawayhi, and other models of good Arabic writers, were Iranian not Arab, and this is amply attested. Not so well known or accepted is the thesis that the Arabs helped to spread Persian beyond the borders of the Persian speaking area in Iran into Central Asia. They also helped to transform Persian, or what some authors called Darī, into the New Persian language as we know it, an Islamic language with a massive Arabic vocabulary in it.

One is frequently inclined to impart modern concepts and ideas to history, and it seems clear that in the case of the division between the Arab and the Persian, this has been overemphasized. Rather, the fundamental division in those days was between Muslim and non-Muslim.

1 *Kitāb aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden 1906), 32, line 8.

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AN EARLY ARABIC SCRIPT IN EASTERN IRAN

Donum Natalicum H.S. Nyberg Oblatum, Uppsala, 1954

An Early Arabic Script in Eastern Iran

At a first glance the script of the recently found manuscript of the Andarz nāme of Kāyūs b. Iskandar b. Kāpūs b. Vušmgīr (usually known as the Qābūs nāme) is unusual and difficult to read.[1] It may be characterized as a script between Kufic and Persian *naskhī* with a considerable number of ligatures joining letters not usually connected in the Arabic alphabet, and consequently not easy to read. I became interested in the origin and extent of use of this script and examined a large number of manuscripts in search of answers to these questions. The present study is the result of my investigations.[2]

The Andarz nāme is the third oldest manuscript in New Persian, of the generally known Persian manuscripts. Hence a comparison of the three was the first task at hand. The colophon of the Andarz nāme (figure 1) says: "Šīrdā b. Šīrdīl al-Iṣfahbadī aṭ-Ṭabarī wrote (this) on the 27th of Jumādā the First of the year 483 (July 1090), praising of God the Unique, and invoking His blessing and saving upon Muḥammad and his family, and God is our sufficiency, and He is the Arbiter." The manuscript was presumably written in Gurgān at the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea. The outstanding features of orthography are the following:[3] three dots under the *sīn* and *gāf*, a dot under the *rā* and the *dāl*, miniature letters under the *ḥā* and *ʿain*, duplicating them, and the *xe* is frequently difficult to distinguish from an *γain*. In general, the ligatures are abundant, for example, the *alif* is connected with a following *nūn*, *rā*, *zāl*, and *vāv*.

If we search for parallel scripts, the oldest catalogued Persian manuscript, the Liber fundamentorum Pharmacologiae of Abū Manṣūr Mu-

[1] Cf. my articles "The Andarz Nāme of Kāyūs b. Iskandar b. Kāpūs b. Vušmgīr," Serta Cantabrigiensia (Wiesbaden, Steiner Verlag, 1954), 7–23, and "The Manuscript of the Andarz nāme in New Persian," JAOS (forthcoming).

[2] Unfortunately many manuscripts were inaccessible, so the conclusions of this study are subject to revision if a large number of manuscripts of different scripts than proposed in this study should come to light. This is unlikely, however.

[3] See figure 1.



Figure 1. Colophon of the Andarz nāme (from *Serta Cantabrigiensia*, with due permission of the Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden).

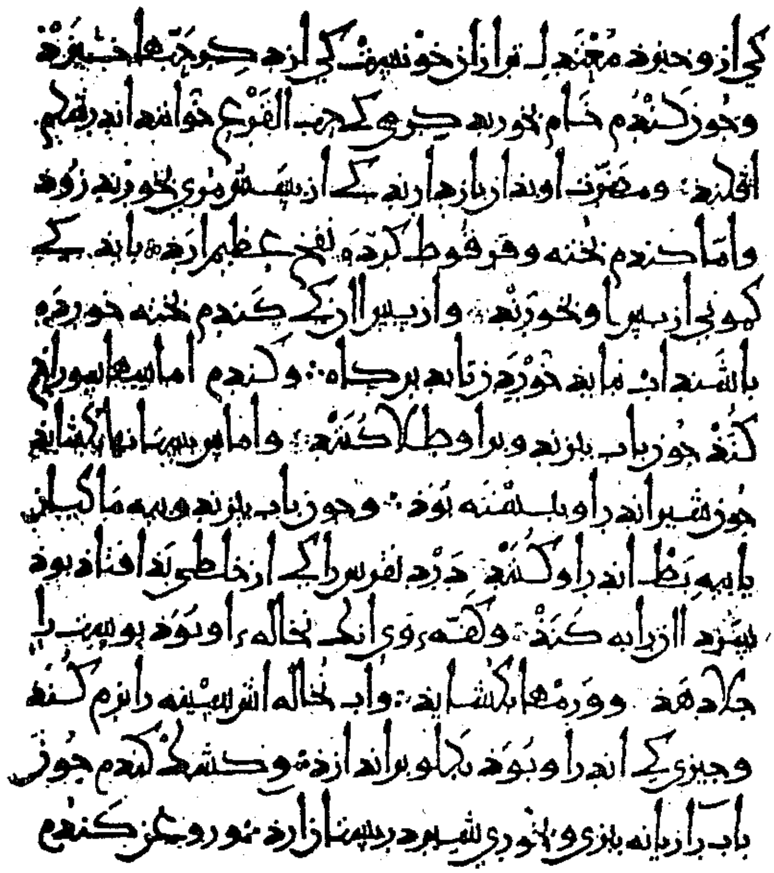


Figure 2. Page from the Vienna Pharmacopoeia (from *The Palaeographical Society*, plate 8).

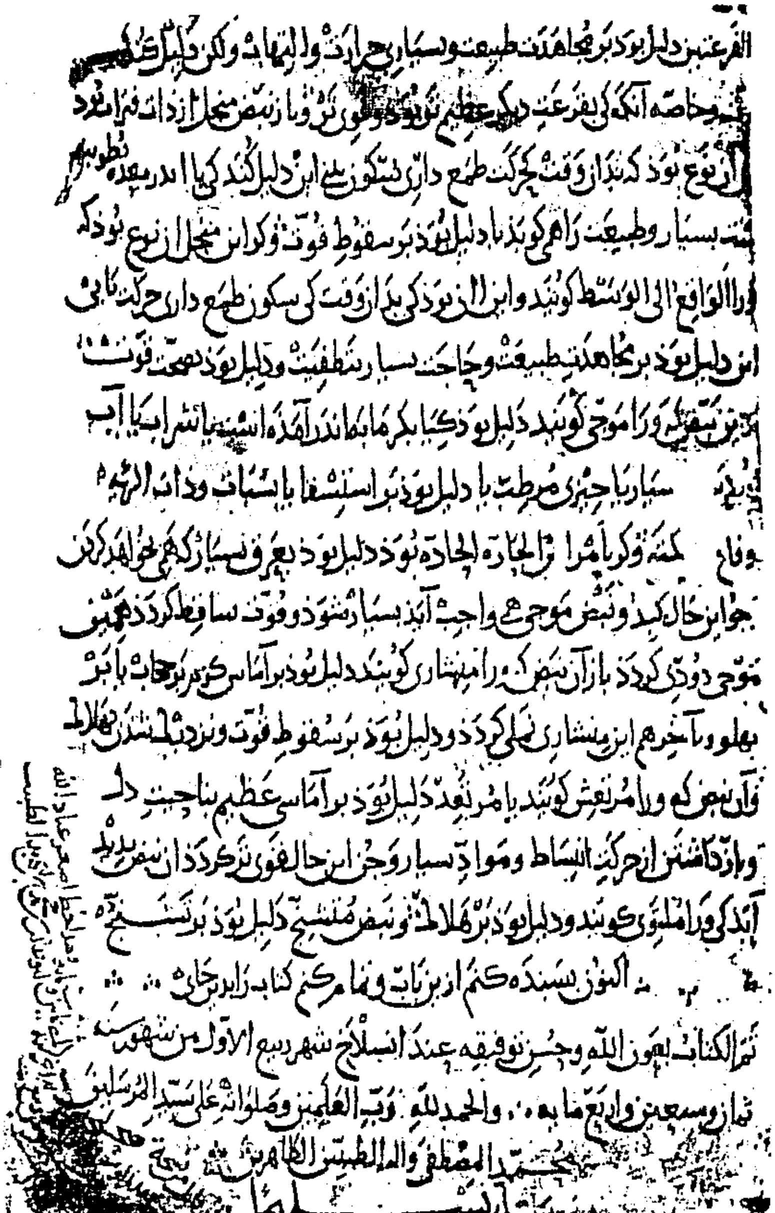

تم الكتاب بعون الله وحسن توفيقه عند انسلاخ شهر ربيع الاول من شهور سنه
ثمان وسبعين واربع مايه . والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلواته على سيد المرسلين
محمد المصطفى وآله الطيبين الطاهرين
تسليما

Figure 3. Colophon of the *Hidāyat al-muta'allimīn* (from *The Bodleian Library Record*, **3** (1951), 169).

waffaq b. 'Alī 'al-Haravī dated 1055, comes to mind. The script of this book has been described by F. SELIGMANN in the preface to his edition of it,[1] and comments on the script have been made by P. HORN in the translation.[2] The same features found in the Andarz nāme are found here, with the additional letter *fā* with three dots above it sometimes used in place of the simple *fā*, and at other times representing the vocalic consonant *w*. In general the scripts of both manuscripts are closely related. (Cf. figure 2.) The Vienna pharmacopoeia was presumably copied in Ghazna or, in any case, in eastern Khurāsān.[3]

From what preceded, one would suppose that the script we are discussing was typical of all Persian written in the eleventh century A.D. But the third manuscript from this century is written in a script which is unlike the two above, and more closely related to modern Persian *naskhī*. This is the Hidāyat al-mu ta'allimīn fī'l-ṭibb, a medical encyclopedia by Abū Bakr Rabī' b. Aḥmad al-Akhavain al-Bukharī, a pupil of Rhazes, now in the Bodleian Library.[4] The reproduction of the colophon (cf. figure 3) shows an archaic script, but with none of the orthographic peculiarities (the dots, ligatures, etc.) of the Andarz nāme or the pharmacopoeia. The Hidāyat manuscript was presumably copied in western Iran since the author was a student of Rhazes who taught in Baghdad and died in his native city, Rayy.

It seems that in the 5th century A.H./11th century A.D., generally speaking, there were two different scripts in use for Persian, one in West Iran and the other in East Iran. This does not mean, however, that there were no local variations, and, of course, Kufic continued to be used, especially for decorative purposes.

[1] F. SELIGMANN, Prolegomena in codicem Vindobonensem sive Medici Abu Mansur Muwaffak bin Ali Heratensis (Vienna, 1859), xxv–xxvii.

[2] Cf. P. HORN's remarks *apud* ABDUL-CHALIG ACHUNDOW, Die pharmakologischen Grundsätze (Historische Studien aus dem Pharmakologischen Institute der Universität Dorpat), 3 (1893), 286–289. These remarks are mainly concerned with phonology rather than script.

[3] The author was from Herat; the book was written for the Samanid ruler al-Manṣūr b. Nūḥ, and the copyist, 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Asadī of Ṭūs, flourished at the court of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. I fail to follow the argument in ACHUNDOW, op. cit., 304, where it is stated that Abū Manṣūr, the author of the book, came from the village of Hirow in north Persia, and from the style and grammatical peculiarities the book must have been written in Azerbaijan!

[4] A. F. L. BEESTON, Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, part 3 (Oxford, 1954), 90. The Istanbul manuscript, mentioned by Beeston, was unavailable.

What was the geographical extent of the eastern script represented by the Andarz nāme and the pharmacopoeia? An examination of the scripts of old Arabic manuscripts shows some parallels with the West Persian script. For example, the Arabic letter of Dīvāštič, a Sogdian ruler of the time of the Arab conquests,[1] has a minimum of diacritical points, and none of the distinctive features of the Andarz nāme script.[2] In the Bodleian copy of the Arabic Dīwān al-adab fī bayān al-lughat al-'Arab by Abū Ibrāhīm Isḥāq b. Abī Huraira al-Fārābī, supposedly written in Samarqand in 974 A.D.,[3] we find a dot under the *rā* and a dot under the *dāl*, but no other features in common with the Andarz nāme. The undated Qur'ān from the Uzbek Central State museum has several features similar to the Andarz nāme (three dots under the *sīn*, occasionally a dot under the *rā*, etc.) but the script is closer to Kufic and presumably older. It was probably written in Central Asia.[4]

It would seem that generally speaking Arabic texts copied in eastern Iran are not in the same tradition of scripts as the Persian manuscripts. For example, the Arabic Kitāb al-alfāz, copied by Nūh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Baihaqī, dated 3 Rabi' II, 461 = 30 January 1069, and the Kitāb al-gharibain of Abū 'Ubaid al-Harawī, d. 1010 A.D., and copied by the Kātib al-Ghaznawī al-Arghandīnī in Valvālij in Badakhshan in 1116 A.D., are both in the more common *naskhī* and not in Andarz nāme or pharmacopoeia script.[5]

On the other hand, the curious Qur'ān copied by Abū Bakr of Ghazna in 566/1170 with *sūra* headings in *naskhī* and text in Kufic, betrays features similar to the Andarz nāme (three dots under *sīn*, cursive *nūn*, occasional dot under *rā*).[6] The 12th Century Qur'ān in Gotha, has a cursive archaic *naskhī* with dots under the *sīn*.[7] These

[1] Cf. my article, "Tarxūn ~ Türxün and Central Asian History," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 14 (1951), 105–129.

[2] V. A. Kračkovskaja, "Pamjatniki arabskogo pis'ma v Srednei Azii i Zakavkaz'e do IX v.," Epigrafika Vostoka, 6 (Moscow, 1952), 88, plate VI.

[3] Cf. plate LX of The Palaeographical Society, Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts, Oriental Series, part 8, ed. W. Wright (London, 1883).

[4] V. A. Kračkovskaja, "Evoljucija kufičeskogo pis'ma v Srednei Azii," Epigrafika Vostoka, 3 (1949), 11–12, and plate IIIa.

[5] A. J. Arberry, Specimens of Arabic and Persian Palaeography (London, India Office, 1939), plates 3 and 5. Cf. also plates 25 and 36 of manuscripts from eastern Iran.

[6] Cf. plate V of the article by B. Moritz on "Arabic Writing" in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1, 384.8

[7] The Palaeographical Society, op. cit., plate LXXIII.

I would consider as exceptions to the general rule for early Arabic manuscripts from eastern Iran.

Khwārazm and Eastern Europe

The general style of writing exemplified by the Andarz nāme continued in use in the northernmost part of the Islamic world, apparently almost to modern times. The Khwārazmians wrote their own language in this script (dots and ligatures), and this, one may assume, from the time that Arabic script replaced the older Khwārazmian characters derived from Aramaic, about the beginning of the 10th century, A.D.[1] The autograph of the eminent scholar from Khwārazm, al-Bīrūnī, shows the same features, which is not unexpected.[2] The Muqaddimat al-ādab manuscripts of al-Zamakhsharī, with Khwārazmian glosses, are in the same pattern.[3]

We know that the Andarz nāme script also appears in documents and in inscriptions of the pre-Mongol period. The Bamiyan deed of ca. 1200 A.D.,[4] and, to a lesser extent, tombstones from Merv of the 13th century A.D. show close relations to the Andarz nāme script.[5] It would seem from many post-Mongol manuscripts in Persian from eastern Iran that this script was abandoned in Khurāsān during the Mongol conquest.

To the north, however, its use continued. The Persian translation of Kalīlah wa Dimnah (from the Arabic of Ibn Muqaffa') by Abu'l-Ma'ālī al-Ghaznavī, copied in Khujand in 658/1259, by a certain Mu-

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[1] W. B. HENNING, "Über die Sprache der Chvarezmier," ZDMG, 90 (1936), *30*. On the Khwārazmian (Aramaic) script see S. P. TOLSTOV, Drevnii Xorezm, (Moscow, 1948), 175.

[2] F. KRENKOW. "Abu'r-Raihan al-Biruni," Islamic Culture, 6 (1932), 528–534, with two plates.

[3] A. A. SEMENOV, Sobranie Vostočnyx rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR (Tashkent, 1952), 188, no. 424. The Konya manuscript published by ZEKI VELIDI TOGAN, Horezmce Tercümeli Muqaddimat al-adab (Istanbul, 1951), has fewer of the features than one would expect. Unfortunately we learn little about the Khwārazmian (Arabic) script from A. A. FREIMAN, Xorezmiiskii Jazyk (Moscow, 1951), 9–11.

[4] V. MINORSKY, "Some Early Documents in Persian (II)," JRAS (1943), 89, and plate I. We have here all of the ligatures and the dots.

[5] M. E. MASSON, "Srednevekovye namogil'nye kirpiči iz Maryiskogo Oazisa," Epigrafika Vostoka, 8 (1953), 24–35, esp. sketch 6 and plate VII.

hammad b. 'Umar al-Sābāṭī, is closely related to the Andarz nāme script (ligatures and dots).[1]

It was in South Russia, and on the Volga where Khwārazmian influences were so strong, that we find consistent adherence to our script. Here on 13th and 14th century tombstones we find numerous examples.[2] The Volga Tatars were conquered by the Mongols and incorporated into the Golden Horde, and it was probably from the Muslim center on the Volga that many influences, including the script, came to the rulers of the Golden Horde. In the *bitik* of Uluğ Muḥammad Khān of the Golden Horde, dated 1428, we find ligatures and three dots under the *sīn* and features of resemblance to the Khwārazmian (Arabic) script.[3] As Minorsky remarks,[4] the same usage is found in a Tatar will of 1639 A.D.

One may recapitulate as follows: the creation of a New Persian literature in Arabic script took place in the courts of petty dynasts in Khurāsān. The Tāhirids, with their center at Nishapur, probably fostered the first attempts at writing Persian in the Arabic script. Perhaps at the same time, or shortly thereafter, the petty dynasties of Māzanderān and Gurgān followed the Ṭāhirids. In the 11th century Bukhara, Ghazna, and Gurgān were centers of Persian culture, and the end of the century saw the rise of Khwārazm. Khwārazm and Gurgan have always been closely connected, and from Khwārazm merchants and travellers brought Khwārazmian culture to the Bulgars on the Volga River. So influences from Gurgān (and Khwārazm) persisted in Russia through the period of the Golden Horde. The East Iranian version of the Arabic script then passed into the Turkish of Russia. Whether the script used by Pathans for their Pushtu language is derived from the same script is the subject of further study, but it is not an improbable assumption.

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[1] The Palaeographical Society, op. cit., plate LXXXV.

[2] Cf. S. E. Malov, "Bulgarskaja i tatarskaja epigrafika," EV, 2 (1948), 47, sketch 6; G. Jusupov and G. Xisamutdinov, "Bulgarskie epigrafičeskie pamjatniki," EV, 4 (1951), 68, plate 1; G. Jusupov, "O nekotoryx Bulgarskix epigrafičeskix pamjatnikax," EV, 7 (1953), 28, plates 1 and 2.

[3] Akdes Nimet Kurat, Topkapî Sarayî Müzesi Arşivindeki Altîn Ordu, Kîrîm ve Türkistan Hanlarîna Ait Yarlik ve Bitikler (Istanbul, 1940), 8, plates 162-163. Compare also the *bitik* of Mengli-Girey Khān, ca. 1468, vesika 7 in the book.

[4] Minorsky, op. cit., 89, note 1.

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THE PROBLEM OF NEW PERSIAN AND 'DARI'

Indo-Iranica, vol. 16, (1963).

THE PROBLEM OF NEW PERSIAN AND *'DARI'*

E. G. Browne: *Viro Lingvae Persicae Pertissimo*

We all know that the New Persian "renaissance" flourished in Khurasan and Transoxiana primarily in the tenth and eleventh centuries A. D. Browne has described the early productions of New Persian literature in his masterly *Literary History of Persia*, but the political and cultural reasons for the rise of New Persian literature in the Arabic script here rather than in western Iran are also well-known and have been discussed elsewhere.[1] The reality of a division between eastern and western Iran, geographically separated by the Kavir and Lut deserts, must be kept in mind when considering problems posed by the spread of New Persian writing.

It seems there is still confusion in some scholarly circles about the linguistic situation in Iran at the time of the Arab conquests. This confusion is based on various Arabic books which purport to describe the languages of Iran at this time. It is unnecessary to discuss the passages in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadím, or other writers, since they have been analysed in detail many times, and the consensus of opinion has been that they refer to various systems of writing of various languages in Iran in the seventh century.[2] However, the matter is really simpler than that and may be explained from the historical record as well as from literary remains.

Within the boundaries of the Sasanian empire, the Middle Persian language, principally a dialect of Fars, was not only the written language of state and bureaucracy; it was also the spoken language of military commands and of general intercourse. The Sasanian garrisons stationed in Merv and along the northeastern frontier of the empire must have used Middle Persian as the common language, no matter what their

[1] See especially my article "Die Wiedergeburt Persiens um die Jahrtausendwende," *Der Islam*, 35 (1960) 42-51.

[2] I refer primarily to the problem of *'Dari'*, *'Pahlavi'*, and other designations of languages found in Ibn al-Nadím's *Fihrist*. Cf. Malik al-Shu'arā Bahār, *Sabk Shināsī*, 1 (Tehran 1938) 230 and the works of Ẓabīḥu'llāh Ṣafā and others

various origins and dialects were. Since Pahlavi inscriptions on potsherds have been found in Merv, now in the Tashkent museum, we may accept them as evidence for the above view. Of course, then as today many dialects were spoken all over Iran, and in Fars province the dialect of the peasants undoubtedly deviated considerably from the courtly language spoken by the descendants of Ardashir-i Babakan residing in Ctesiphon. But Ardashir and the Sasanians had sprung from Fars, and later accretions to their dialect had not changed its basic nature as a dialect of Fars. The spoken language of the court and the bureaucracy was this form of Persian which the Arabic authors called *'Dari'*. It was the *'lingua franca'* of the Sasanian empire and the ancestor of New Persian. The fact that this language had many northwestern or eastern dialect words or expressions in its vocabulary is obvious. This language when written was recorded in the Pahlavi alphabet.

Various religious groups in the Sasanian empire wrote Middle Persian, or dialects thereof, in their own scripts, for example, the Manichaeans and the Jews. But Pahlavi was not only the alphabet of the Zoroastrians; it was also the alphabet of the state and bureaucracy. Because of the heretographic nature of Pahlavi writing, documents could be "read off" in a dialect rather than in the court tongue. The admonition to read what was written could well have produced manifold Iranian interpretations of the Semitic masks in Pahlavi writing. Thus, the situation in the Sasanian empire should not present any difficult problems. The Arabic books, however, were not the sole sources of confusion in this matter.

It is highly probable that the Turfan texts further confused the picture of which the information in the Arabic books was the source. But the Parthian texts from Central Asia dating from the eight or ninth centuries A.D. were not the records of a living, spoken language. Rather they were documents of the Manichaean religion, copied from earlier texts and really archaic survivals. Furthermore they were written in a special Manichaean script used only by the devotees of that faith. Parthian was neither the spoken nor the written language of eastern Iran in the eighth century A.D. Various dialects were spoken and the written language of the state at that time, of course, was Arabic. If Iranian was written at all, it was in the form of Pahlavi. In Sogdiana, of course, Sogdian was written, and in Khwarazm presumably Khwarazmian was still known.

The problem remains, how did New Persian, essentially a southwestern Iranian dialect, come to Bukhara and Samarqand, Sogdian

lands, and to Balkh, in the east, areas which had not been under Sasanian rule ?

First, we may assume that the *lingua franca* of the Sasanian empire was not unknown to merchants and other city dwellers in Sogdiana before the Arab conquest. Second, the Arabs themselves helped to spread this tongue wherever they went in the east. Along with the Arab conquerors in Central Asia there came a host of clients or *mawáli*, who spoke the Middle Persian *koiné*. When the Arabs wished to communicate with Sogdian or other opponents, it was surely in this *lingua franca* rather than in any other tongue. Third, we know that many refugees came to Sogdiana from Iran, fleeing the Arab conquerors. In the Sogdian documents from Mt. Mug a Persian general has recorded, evidence of the continuing struggle of Persians against the Arabs in Central Asia.[1] Consequently the spread of the Persian language into Sogdiana and lands outside of the borders of the former Sasanian empire was greatly augmented by the Arab conquests.

We know that Pahlavi continued to be the written language of the bureaucracy in Iran down to the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik, about 700 A.D., and in Khurasan down to the time of the governorship of Nasr b. Sayyár (*ca.* 744), when Arabic took over. Thereafter Pahlavi became limited to the Zoroastrian community and for religious purposes. Since there was no longer any generally understood written language (Pahlavi), the various Iranian dialects assumed a new importance for the writers in Arabic. So tongues termed '*Dari*' or *fahlawiyyát*' by Arabic sources refer to dialects or styles of Persian and in no way represent historical languages with their own scripts.

When Muslim Persians, descendants of the clients of the Arabs, began to write poems and prose in the Arabic script, the old *lingua franca* had already become Arabicized New Persian. Political circumstances gave the necessary patronage to such literary pursuits in eastern Iran. If the Tahirids and the Samanids had flourished in western Iran rather than in the east, the resulting New Persian literature would have been much the same as it became. This was so because by the tenth century, the '*umma*' of Persian speaking Muslims constituted a solid block in culture and language as well as religion from the *cities* of Iraq to the *cities* of Transoxiana. The use of '*Dari*', and other such terms, as well as the rise of New Persian in Transoxiana, should not continue to perplex students of Persian literature.[2]

1 See V. A. Livshits, *The Sogdian Letters from Mt. Mugh.* XXV International Congress of Orientalists (Moscow 1960) 5.

2 I hope to discuss the problem of the Bóyids and the New Persian renaissance in western Iran in an article for a volume dedicated to H. A. R. Gibb.

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NOTES ON THE RENAISSANCE OF THE 10th AND IIth CENTURIES IN EASTERN IRAN.

Central Asiatic Journal, vol. I, Nr 2 (1955).

NOTES ON THE RENAISSANCE OF THE 10th AND 11th CENTURIES IN EASTERN IRAN

It is generally known that the Persian Renaissance, both political and cultural, reached its apex in the 10th century A.D. In the east it was in the realm of the Samanids, with their capital at Bukhara, who where the patrons of the poet Rūdakī and others. Their rule extended over Transoxiana, Khurasan (in its Mediaeval boundaries) and at times to Sīstān and Kirmān. In western Iran their rivals the Bōyids, with various centers at Shiraz, Isfahan, and Rayy, were likewise patrons of learning. But under them the sciences, such as astronomy and philosophy seem to have flourished to the detriment of poetry.[1] The activities of the Bōyid princes in building libraries and supporting scholars, however, can be called a Persian renaissance, as we shall see elsewhere, in a volume under preparation.

Regardless of the political control of Iran, in this period we see the manifestation of a renaissance in both the east and in the west, a division which has persisted in Iran from ancient times to the present. There were and are two cultural areas of Iran, and the dividing line is the desert, or rather deserts (Dašt-e Kavīr and Dašt-e Lūṭ), which extends from the Caspian Gates near Semnān to Baluchistan in the south. This geographic feature has divided Iran into two cultural spheres, a realization of which is very important for an understanding of the art history and cultural history of Iran. The manuscript of the *Andarz nāme* "book of precepts" throws some light on a few details of the east Persian renaissance.

Preliminary general information about this manuscript, the original of the *Qābūs nāme*, has already been published,[2] but further

[1] Cf. B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-Islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1952, 263.

[2] R. N. Frye, 'The Andarz Nāme of Kāyūs b. Iskandar b. Kāpūs b. Vušmgīr', *Serta Cantabrigiensia*, Wiesbaden, 1954, 7–21.

study has brought new items to light which will be discussed briefly here. First, we must consider the name of the author. Heretofore, the name of the author of the *Qābūs nāme* has been given as Kay Kāōs/Kay Ka'ūs, or in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* as Qābūs II.[3] The latter we may dismiss as an attempt by Clément Huart to change the author's name to justify the name of his book as the *Qābūs nāme*, which, as we shall show, is irrelevant.[4] On the first folio of the manuscript the author is called Kāpūs, on the second (1b) he is called Kāyūs b. Qābūs. I cannot explain this discrepancy, for Kāyūs was the son of Iskander (Dārā), and grandson of Qābūs. The form of the name on the first folio Kāpūs must be an orthographic error, or an inverse Persian writing for Arabic Qābūs. Both names, Qābūs and Kāyūs, derive from Avestan *Kava Usa*, the former through Parthian, the latter through the SW dialect of Persian. Thus Parthian *kav-*, and Persian *kay-* (*kdy* on the Sassanian coins), gave respective forms Parthian **kāvōs* (comp. Armenian *kavosakan*) and SW Middle Persian *kāyōs*.[5] The first part of NP *Kai kāūs* is redundant, while Parthian **kāvōs* > NP **kāvūs* > Arabic *Qābūs* (comp. MP *Kavāt* > Arabic *Qubād*). In other words the NP form of the name *Qābūs* would be *kāōs/kāūs* (from SW Persian) or **kāvōs/kāvūs* (from Parthian), and Kāpūs does not exist except here.[6]

The chronology of the author and book is the second subject of investigation. His dates of rule are given by Huart as 441–462/1049 to 1069,[7] while in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* Huart claims he was killed in 1069 during an expedition against the Abkhaz in the Caucaus region, led by the amīr of Ganje, Faḍlūn Abu'l-Sawār. The sources for this information are late, Khōndemīr, Daulatšāh, Ḥājjī

[3] Article on the Ziyārids vol. 4, pp. 1234–5, by Cl. Huart.
[4] Cl. Huart, 'Les Ziyârides', *Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 42, 1922, 70.
[5] Cf. H. H. Schaeder in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 15, 1936, 571.
[6] Professor Bailey reminds me of Armenian *Kauos*, which occurs to render Greek Κῦρος (cf. H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1897, 46). Note the form Kau Xosrov on the same page. Professor Bailey suggests that Kāpūs might be a genuinely pronounced form, though secondary. Since the manuscript uses the same sign for both *b* and *p* one cannot tell if *p* is used for *b* elsewhere in the text. The form Kāpūs is the only place where three dots occurs. The length of the first vowel *-ā-* in Kāōs presents problems. The Pahlavi forms may be pronounced **Kāy-us* or **Kāy-ōs/ūs*. Pāzand *Kahōs* (Sanskrit script *Kahoos, Kahośa*) still has *ă-* (Bailey).
[7] *Op. cit.*, 5.

Khalīfa, and Ẓahīr al-Dīn's history of Ṭabaristān (15th century A.D.). The date 1069 for the death of the author is surely incorrect, not only because of the date of writing as given in the *Qābūs nāme / Andarz nāme*, but also from other considerations. In the book the author states he was at Ghazna with Sultan Maudūd for eight years.[8] Maudūd only ruled eight years, 1041–1049, so our author must have left Ghazna in 1049. He was probably then a young man of twenty-eight or nine, if the date of his birth ca. 412/1021 may be accepted.[9] Another clue to dating may be found in chapter seven of the *Qābūs nāme*, where the author says he went on the holy war with the amīr Abu'l-Aswār (or Sawār), who was then ruler of Ganje, in the year in which he made the pilgrimage.[10] Levy's translation, "against Ganje", is incorrect since Abu'l Aswār was ruler there from 1049, and the city had long since been under Muslim rule. It is probable that Kay Kāōs (to use the best known form of his name) was in Ganje about 1055–7.[11] It is obvious from the references to Abu'l-Aswār in the *Qābūs nāme* that this prince was long dead when the book was written. Abu'l-Aswār died in 1067, so the statement by Huart in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* relative to the death of Kay Kāōs, derived from Daulatšāh, is false and must be rejected.[12] Unfortunately we cannot establish the dates of his rule (and over what territory) since the information from Islamic sources and numismatics does not help us. But there is no reason to doubt the information of the folio before the colophon of the *Andarz nāme* manuscript, which reads as follows: "Know my son that from childhood till now my usuage was thus. So I was always, and sixty odd years of my life I have passed in this fashion. And I began this book in the first of the month of Sha'bān in the year 470 (February 1078), and I ended it in the month of Muḥarram 473 (June 1080)."[13] It is probable that he had already retired from rule in favor of his son Gīlānshāh, but we know so little about the Ziyārids after

[8] R. Levy, *A Mirror for Princes*, London, 1951, 230.
[9] E. E. Bertels, *Kabus-Name*, Moscow, 1953, 216.
[10] Levy, *op. cit.*, 35.
[11] Cf. V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, London, 1953, 55–6.
[12] Cf. S. A. Kasravi, *Shahryārān Gumnām*, 3, Tehran, 1930, 34, note 36.
[13] Folio 179a: بدانک ای بسرکی ازخردی تا اکنون عادت من این‌بوذی وایدون بوذم پیوسته وشست واندسال عمررا من بدین سان بپایان بردم واین‌کتاب اغازکردم اندرغرّة شهر شعبان اندرعام سبعین واربع‌مایة وبپایان آوردم اندر شهر محرم ثلث وسبعین واربع‌مایه.

Qābūs that is is impossible to reconstruct any satisfactory account of them. In any case Kay Kāōs must have died shortly after 1080, the date the book was finished.

Before turning to the importance of the manuscript in its relation to the east Persian renaissance, the language of the *Andarz nāme* will be discussed briefly. The language is archaic New Persian with Pahlavi survivals in the vocabulary. The language is that termed *Darī* by Islamic authors, and in addition to archaisms there are also dialect words in the vocabulary. For example, in the phrase on folio 158b (chapter twenty)[14]: جانور چند نوع است؟ the *Andarz nāme* has اور for نوع. This is certainly a dialect form *ūr* for NP *jūr* "kind, category," which is colloquial and not found in classical writings. The word *jūr* may have originally come from the Caspian Sea area, but the etymology is unknown. Also one finds *mām* for *māder* (folio 3a, line 1), commonly used in many dialects today. The form زفان "language, tongue", is probably to be read as the English labio-velar *w*, hence *zuwān*. This is also the probable pronunciation of the form زوان given by Cl. Huart in his collection of Ḥurūfī texts from Asterābād.[15] Note, however, the form *zefān*, perhaps in the Khwārazmian dialect, quoted by Horn.[16]

More interesting are Pahlavi words, such as *nēvak* "good," and the Parsi words in the colophon, where the author tells his son, Gīlānshāh, to be on guard with people who are اشموغ ودسروب وخود کوسک. The first word is *ašəmaoya* of the Avesta, Pahlavi *ahramōy*, (cf. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 257), "heretic". For the second word one would have expected *dūš-rōv*, Pahlavi "evil-character," but the form *dūsrōv* does occur in the *Škand-Gumānīk Viçār*, in the sense of "bad character".[17] From the Parsi Persian

[14] In the edition by Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran, 1934, 71, not in Levy's edition.

[15] Cl. Huart, *Textes Houroufis, London*, 1909, 201. Cf. W. B. Henning, 'Sogdian Loan-Words in New Persian', *BSOS*, 10 (1939), 101, where ڤ, fricative *v* [= Sogd. script β], but later pronunciation in Persian *f*- (ref. from Professor Bailey).

[16] P. Horn, *Grundriß der neupersischen Etymologie*, Straßburg, 1893, 144, no. 650. Correct this with W. B. Henning in *ZDMG*, 1936, * 31 *.

[17] Ed. by P. J. de Menasce, Fribourg, 1946, 66; in chapter V, 35. Compare,

one would have expected rather اسموغ ودشروب. The third word is unusual, for in this series one might expect *xūd dōšak* "self lover (or friend)". The *Andarz nāme* text is clear, or one would wish to emend it. Tentatively the word may be connected with كوستن alternate form of كوفتن, for the former is found in the *Shāh nāme*. Colloquially one hears *kōs zadan* "to arrogate." In the sense of beating a drum for oneself, the form *kōsak* could then be one of the *nomina instrumenti* in *-k*. This, to say the least, is not *zufriedenstellend.*[18] The manuscript presents many linguistic difficulties which are puzzling and require much study.

The script of the *Andarz nāme* shows an eastern feature of the division between east and west in the Persian Renaissance. The script is not unknown, for there have been a series of articles on the origin of this style of writing and on its artistic qualities, but no one, to my knowledge, has related it to the Renaissance.[19] Much more study is necessary before one can come to a definite conclusion on the provenance and spread in usage of the script, but I propose that this script was evolved in eastern Iran at one of the centers of the Persian Renaissance, in Bukhara, Nishapur, Gurgān, or perhaps another such center. All of the *Qur'āns* in this script, which I have examined in photograph, were copied in eastern Iran, according to their colophons, or else the place of writing is unknown.[20] There may be examples not from eastern Iran which would

however, Av. *duš. sravahyā*, Pahlavi *duššravīh*, with assimilation of *š to s.* Professor Bailey reminds me that *dsrwb* presupposes the pronunciation of Pāzand *dusrūb* for Pahl. *dwsrwb* = **dusrav* (in K 20b, 83a 14 = *Frahang ī oīm*, **duš-sravīh*). Armenian *χosrov* shows *-srov*, N.Pers. *χusrau*, with *-srau̯*. Pahl. **dusrav* has been made to correspond to *husrav.*

[18] Professor Bailey notes that one may have the reading *g-* for Sassanian *a-*, just as Pāzand had *gəfr* (Ṭabari *kbr*) for *dpr*, **daβr* = Avestian *dawra-* "dark color" (Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller, Leipzig, 1954, 17) So N.Pers., in our manuscript, *χwd gwsk* = Pahl. *χ^vat-dōšak*, the change to *g-* when the word was lost.

[19] E. Schroeder, 'What was the Badī' Script?' *Ars Islamica*, 4, 1937, 232 to 248. Answers to this article were made by M. Minovi and N. Abbott; cf. literature in S. Stern, review, in *BSOAS*, 16, 1954, 398–9.

[20] The *Andarz nāme* script is not the „Iranian Kufi" "or "rhomboid" script discussed by Stern (above), but related to it. I should like tentatively to propose that the *Andarz nāme* script represents a further development of the script of the Vienna pharmacopoeia script, which in turn is relaled to

cause a modification of this view, but the three Persian manuscripts from the 5th/11th century confirm this thesis.

The oldest catalogued Persian manuscript is the *Liber fundamentorum Pharmacologiae* of Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaq b. ʿAlī al-Harawī, dated 1055 A.D., and preserved in the Vienna Staatsbibliothek. It has been edited by F. Seligmann in 1859, and a glance at it shows the close relationship with the script of the *Andarz nāme.* The author of the book was from Herat, and the book was written for the Samanid ruler Manṣūr b. Nūḥ. The copyist of the manuscript was ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Asadī of Ṭōs, who flourished at the court of Maḥmūd of Ghazna.

That the script under discussion was used in eastern Iran and not in the west, is indicated by the second oldest manuscript in New Persian dated 478/1085. This is the *Hidāyat* al-*muta ʿallimīn fi'l-ṭibb,* a medical encyclopaedia by Abū Bakr Rabīʿ b. Aḥmad al-Akhavain al-Bukhārī, a pupil of Rhazes, now in the Bodleian library. The reproduction of the colophon shows an archaic script but with none of the orthographic peculiarities of the *Andarz nāme* or pharmacopoeia script. The *Hidāyat* manuscript was almost certainly copied in western Iran since the author was a student of Rhazes who thaught in Bagdad and died in his native city of Rayy.

So we have evidence of two traditions in scripts, which corresponds to the cultural division between East and West in Iran. The fate of the cursive *Andarz nāme* script has been discussed elsewhere,[21] but suffice it to say that this script was used by the Khwārazmians, and with modifications, passed on to the Tatars of the Volga.

To turn briefly to the artistic importance of the *Andarz nāme* manuscript, here too the evidence points to its proper place in the east Persian cultural area. For parallels are found on paintings from Nīshāpūr on pottery.[22] Without pretence to a knowledge of the vast field of art, I think even the untutored eye may see the relationship between these centers. The influence and relation of

the "Iranian Kufi" or "rhomboid script", which probably was developed in eastern Iran.

[21] R. N. Frye, 'An early Arabic Script in Eastern Iran, *Nyberg Festschrift,* Uppsala, 1955. There are puzzling inconsistencies in the script as well as the text of the manuscript.

[22] All questions relating to the miniatures must be left to the art historians.

the *Andarz nāme* miniature art with the school of Baghdad miniatures, and later Persian miniatures are subjects for considerable study. Let us hope the entire manuscript of the *Andarz nāme* will be made available in facsimile for the use of art students as well as others.

DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIAN LITERATURE UNDER THE SAMANIDS AND QARAKHANIDS

Academia Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Prague 1967.

Development of Persian Literature under the Samanids and Qarakhanids

Since I had only a very short time to prepare an article in tribute to Academician Jan Rypka on his eightieth birthday, I selected some general remarks on the development of early New Persian literature, mostly as reflected in the language, adapted from my forthcoming book on *Bukhara, the Medieval Achievement.*[1]

My main thesis in these few pages is that both under the Samanids and the Qarakhanids there flourished one Islamic literature in two languages — Arabic and New Persian Darī in the case of the former, while under the Qarakhanids it was written in Turkish and New Persian Fārsī. The court of the Samanids at Bukhara in the tenth century was the center of the eastern Iranian cultural area, and from there the "New Persian Renaissance", as it has been called by some scholars, spread all over the Iranian plateau and beyond. By some this "renaissance" has been decried as the reaction of Iranian "nationalism" against Arab Islam. I believe it was rather a successful attempt to save Islam by releasing it from its Arab background, and by making of Islam a richer, more adaptable and universal culture than it had been previously. The Samanids showed the way to reconcile ancient traditions with Islam, a path followed other peoples later elsewhere in the Islamic world. The Qarakhanids with the Turkish language and literature were the first to follow the example of the Samanids. Let us turn to the linguistic situation in Transoxiana under the Samanids before saying more of the Qarakhanids.

I must strongly emphasize that I am not concerned here with the Old Iranian, Zoroastrian, or Pahlavi tradition, whatever one may wish to call it. It certainly flourished in Islamic times, especially in the ninth century A. D., as we know from the Pahlavi books from that period. This tradition continued into Darī New Persian with Daqīqī and Firdōsī, but this was a *Nachklang*, in my opinion, not destined to survive the eleventh century A. D. thus, one might propose the following general development of literature in Iran written by Iranians regardless of the genres and of details:

1. to the ninth century A. D. general Arabic literature and Pahlavi literature;

[1] To be published by the Oklahoma University Press in its series "The Centers of Civilization"

2. in the nintn century Arabic with two literatures-general and Shu'ūbiyya — plus Pahlavi still important for a shrinking group.

3. In the tenth century Pahlavi becomes an archaism understood only by Zoroastrian priests, while the Shu'ūbiyya Arabic literature develops into Darī Persian. (This is what I discuss below.)

General Arabic literature, of course, continues to flourish.

4. In the eleventh century general Arabic becomes more and more the vehicle of the *'ulamā* while Darī Persian becomes an archaic style. Fārsī Persian becomes the *lingua franca* of the eastern Islamic world. The Qarakhanids promoted Fārsī Persian and their own Turkish which theme I develop below.

Although the tenth century geographers who wrote in Arabic assure us that Sogdian was spoken at Bukhara as well as Persian in the Samanid period, it was surely a dying tongue of the peasants. It should be emphasized again that Arabic was employed not only in prayers and sermons, but also in all writings on religious subjects, juridicial literature, science and philosophy. The bureaucratic records also were in Arabic and a clerk had to know Arabic to quality for a position. The influx of scholars and poets to Bukhara which began under Isma'īl b. Asad contined after his death, but also many savants from Transoxiana went to Baghdad. There was a Sogdian colony in Baghdad, and Samarra, the temporary 'Abbasid capital for a time, was almost a Central Asian city. We cannot discuss the poets from Transoxiana who lived in Baghdad and who wrote in Arabic, such as Ibn Qūhī, al-Khuraimī, Khalīfa al-Akhmāī, and others. Likewise, the poets from various parts of the caliphate, who came to Bukhara, writing in Arabic, fill many pages in the anthology of al-Tha'ālibī.[2] What is more interesting, are those poets in Bukhara who composed poems either in Arabic or in Persian, and those who translated Persian poetry into Arabic, or vice versa.

To discuss briefly the translators, it is interesting that the translations from Persian to Arabic were not from ancient or non-Islamic Persian sources, but from contemporary poets. It is possible, as has been claimed, that the anti-Arab movement called the *Shu'ūbiyya* was responsible for many such translations, since the translations into Arabic demonstrated the importance of Persian to a wide audience throughout the caliphate. However, since the Persian and Arabic poetry of the bilingual poets is not only the same in content, but also in form, the Shu'ūbiyya hardly can be the dominant reason for the translations. Since the poets were all Muslims, and relatively few non-Muslim traits are revealed in the vast bulk of the poetry, it would seem more likely that the poets originally composed in their native tongue Persian, but then to show their skill, and perhaps also to reach an

[2] *Yatīmat al-dahr*, vol. 4 (Damascus 1304/1887), pp. 33foll.

audience in the Arabic speaking part of the caliphate, they made translations into Arabic. The main sources for the translations in this period, other than the anthology of al-Tha'ālibī, are the *Lubāb al-albāb* by Muḥammad 'Aufī written in the twelfth century, as well as several tracts on translation.

Many Arabic prose works were translated into Persian because, as one translator said, people were too lazy to learn Arabic.[3] Most of these translations were made under the later Samanids, such as the Persian translation of Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* or commentary on the Quran, and the same author's history. Both translations were ordered by the son of al-Bal'āmī, *vezīr* of the *amīr* Manṣūr b. Nūḥ (961—976). The reasons for such translations are not difficult to imagine, but poetry was another matter, and it is significant that older, classical Arabic poems were translated into Persian rather than contemporary Arabic poetry. Since Arabic was the *lingua franca* of the Islamic world and had a large literature, to what other literary sources could any educated Muslim turn for information? Even the reported New Persian translation of the ancient fables of Kalīla and Dimna by Rūdakī, was probably based on the Arabic text of Ibn al-Muqaffa', who had translated it from Pahlavi, which in turn was translated from Sanskrit. Under the Samanids poems of early Islamic Arab poets such as Ibn al-Rūmī and Farazdak were translated into Persian, but the Arabic poetry of the contemporary tenth century was not translated. Local Iranian poets could write their own poems in Arabic or Persian, and their Arabic poems are in no way distinguishable from Arabic poems by native Arabs.

There is no question but the enriching of the Persian language by Arabic words, and the change from the simple syllabic poetry of Middle Iranian to the elaborate formal poetry based on the Arabic system of long and short syllables, gave New Persian a tremendous catalyst for the creation of literature. In spite of some evidence to the contrary, New Persian poetry of the Samanid period is *basically* Islamic and mostly copied from Arabic poetry, which in turn derived its rules of versification from Greek. Great controversy has arisen over the term *Darī* used in many sources to describe the Persian language of this period. Some scholars have gone so far as to claim that *Darī* was really a different language, perhaps a descendant of Parthian or Sogdian. It seems, however, that *Darī*, presumably the "court" language, was really a simple style of New Persian free from Arabic words, whereas the term *Fārsī* in this period was a designation of the style of the New Persian language which was greatly mixed with Arabic words and was ornate rather than simple. This latter style became predominant, such that *Darī* went out of current written use. An interesting indication of this was

[3] See my translation of Narshakhī's *History of Bukhara* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1954), p. 4.

a book of Sindbād translated into *Darī* by order of Nūḥ b. Naṣr in 950, but some two hundred years later "translated" again from *Darī* into *Fārsī* (about 1160) because the simple *Darī* text was archaic and "stood on the path of forgetfulness", hence it needed to be adorned by the style of the time.[4]

Some scholars have thought that the Middle Iranian tongue, the official language of the Sasanian empire called Pahlavi, was read and even written by poets such as Rūdakī. This is extremely unlikely, and even the existence of Zoroastrian *mobads* or priests in Bukhara, who could read Pahlavi, is open to question. The difficult Pahlavi script had been always restricted in use, mainly to the religious hierarchy of the Zoroastrian church, and it is difficult to believe that Pahlavi had many, if any, devotees in Samanid Bukhara. It is claimed that the *Darī* translation of the book of Sindbād, mentioned above, was made from Pahlavi and not from Arabic. Given the intellectual curiosity of the court circles at Bukhara, this is by no means improbable, but if so it was a curiosity and not at all usual.

This is not the place to discuss literary developments in any detail, but two tentative hypotheses relating to the Persian language and literature may be proposed here. First, the movement of poets and literary men which in the early Samanid period was to Khurasan and the east, with the capital city of Bukhara a strong magnet for talented people, in the Qarakhanid period seems to be reversed. Second the Persian language, which was written in two styles, *Darī*, or "pure" Persian, and *Fārsī*, or Arabic mixed with Persian, if we use general characteristics to define style, became more unified in a dominant *Fārsī* style, with *Darī* losing its standing.

The migration of scholars and literary men from Transoxiana to the west, or even to India, is attested by the careers of such men as Ibn Sīnā in the early eleventh century, by the family of Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī Samarqandī author of the book *Chahār Maqāle*, written in 1157, and by the poet Ẓahīr al-Dīn of Faryāb who began his career at the Qarakhanid court of Samarqand and then went to the west, ending his life at Tabriz. The influx of scholars and poets to India from Khurasan and Transoxiana, although ever increasing after the Mongol conquest, nonetheless began earlier. The grammarian al-Zamakhsharī, born in Khwārazm but spending most of his life outside of Transoxiana only to return to his homeland to die in 1144, is not untypical. There were many others but the trend away from Transoxiana is not extraordinary in view of the cultural and religious milieu in Transoxiana under the Qarakhanids.

The Arabicization of the New Persian language was also not unexpected, for the linguistic situation in Khurasan and Transoxiana would favor such

[4] *Sindbād Nāme*, ed. Ahmed Ateş (Is[illegible]), pp. 25—27.

a development. We must remember that the literate classes in the eastern Islamic world were primarily the religious leaders and the scribes or bureaucrats. Perhaps the two classes could be characterized as those who used Arabic in their writings, for the most part, and those who preferred to use New Persian, either the *Darī* or *Fārsī* style.

Although the Samanid bureaucracy it seems stayed with Arabic under Isma'īl, at some time Persian took the place of Arabic, and Persian continued to be used after the fall of the Samanids. One of the prime ministers of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 1014 ordered Arabic to replace Persian in all official correspondence, but the move was not popular and did not last long. Many scholars agree, however, that at the court of Ghazna the influence of Arabic was stronger than it had been at Bukhara. Perhaps the hypothesis proposed above best elucidates the subsequent development, namely the growth of *Fārsī* at the expense of both *Darī* and Arabic. One may presume that by the end of the twelfth century the reading public was accustomed to an Arabicized Persian which had become the written *lingua franca* of the eastern Islamic world.

Some writers might try to imitate Firdōsī but *Fārsī* was the language of written communication, even though Turkish monarchs spoke their own dialects. Arabic remained the language of religion, even though *Fārsī* even flourished in the area of commentaries to the holy book, and in philosophical and theological writings. Later *Fārsī* was to become even more embellished with Arabic phrases, many of which were rare and archaic even to the eyes of literate Arabs. This amalgamation of Arabic and Persian remained until modern times. Later attempts to eliminate Arabic from Persian were as futile as any elimination of Latin and French influence in English.

The Qarakhanids were noble Turks, descended from the earlier Orkhon rulers, with the old Turkic traditions of rule. The Seljuks, on the other hand, were bandits who had no traditions. As a result the Seljuks, after their conquests, had to rely on the Iranians to provide a framework for rule. The Qarakhanid rulers supported the bureaucracy in Transoxiana, which they inherited from the Samanids, against the '*ulamā*', but the latter finally trimphed, witness the rise of the Ṣadr dynasty of Bukhara.

We are not concerned here with the rise of an Islamic Turkish literature at Kashgar and elsewhere in the domains of the Qarakhanids, but I believe the Qarakhanids intended to imitate the Samanids in their patronage of two literary languages. As we learn from Maḥmūd al-Kāshgarī and other sources, there were many Turkish dialects spoken in Central Asia in the eleventh century. The Qarakhanids wanted one dialect to be their Turkish, Islamic, literary language. At the same time, the various Iranian dialects, even in the countryside, were giving ground to Fārsī Persian, so the future situation was already in formation in the Qarakhanid period. When the

Özbeks invaded Transoxiana from the north at the end of the fifteenth century, they were merely to give their name to a Turkistan already in existence. I think one should emphasize the important role played by the Turks in the change from the *Darī* style of Persian to the *Fārsī* style in Central Asia. The mixture of Arabic and Persian seems to have accelerated during Qarakhanid rule, which can be attributed to the expanding influence of the religious leaders as well as the *medresas*. Furthermore, the Turkish rulers might have favored a greater Arabic-Persian mixture in the Persian tongue of their subjects for political as well as religious reasons.

So we may conclude that, paradoxical as it may sound, the Turkish rulers promoted the development of New Persian just as the Arabs had done earlier in the wake of their conquests. The motives were similar in both cases, for the bureaucracies had to continue under new rulers and the conquerors and the conquered needed a common tongue, a *lingua franca* for the entire Iranian cultural area.

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ISLAM IN IRAN

The Muslim World, vol. XLVI, Hartford, Conn., 1956.

ISLAM IN IRAN *

The student searching for literature on the general subject of Iranian Shīᶜism, will find the dearth of information on the subject, in books or articles, great. The only general book on Shīᶜism in any western language is the work by Rev. Dwight Donaldson, which has only scratched the surface, as he himself recognizes.[1] Furthermore, in this book, and in various scattered articles on Shīᶜism, the emphasis is always on history, on the origin of the Shīᶜites as partisans of the family of ᶜAlī, or in other words on Arab Shīᶜism, or early Shīᶜism. Iranian Shīᶜism is another and vaster study which needs much investigation. It begins only in the 10th century A.D. under the Būyids and comes to fruition under the Safavids. One might say that only certain sects, or subdivisions, of Iranian Shīᶜism, have received treatment in studies in European languages. Even then these studies of Ismāᶜīlism,[2] and the doctrines of the Shaikhīs,[3] are hardly adequate. The main development of Iranian Shīᶜism, and many of the subdivisions, needs to be sketched in general terms before we can proceed to a closer investigation of special problems.

One may divide Iranian Shīᶜism today into three general groups: the Imāmī Shīᶜite sects (the most important of which is the "orthodox" Jaᶜfarī sect, [4] or the "Twelvers," the state religion of Iran), the dervishes and mystics, and the *Gholāt* or "exaggerators", or "those in error," related to the Shīᶜa in some way. This division is one made by Shīᶜites themselves.

"THE TWELVERS"

There is no gain in repeating material which may be found in general books on Islam about the origins of the Shīᶜa, or the belief in the twelve *Imāms* who, in the eyes of the Shīᶜites were the true leaders of the Islamic community in direct succession down to Muhammad, son of Ḥasan al-ᶜAskarī. He was the Twelfth *Imām* who disappeared in Samarra in the reign of the Caliph al-Muᶜtamid (ca. 873 A.D.) and will reappear again as the *Mahdī* or messiah to lead his people to salvation.

There are two general features of Shīᶜism above all others which distinguish it from Sunnī Islam. One is belief in the *Imāmate*, with all of its ramifications: the other is belief in the secret, or allegorical

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* Persian names in this paper have been transcribed, Arabic words transliterated.

[1] Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion* (London, 1933).

[2] Cf. W. Ivanow's studies in the Ismaili Society series, published by E. J. Brill, Leiden.

[3] Cf. A. L. M. Nicolas, *Essai sur le Cheikhisme*, 4 parts (Paris, 1910-1914).

[4] It is to the sixth **Imām Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq** that much of Shīᶜite law is traced back.

(*bāṭin*) interpretation of the Qur᾽ān and indeed of all Islamic doctrine.

These are the two fundamental characteristics of all Shīᶜite groups. There are, of course, great variations in the interpretations and manifestations of the above, but the general features of the two are inextricably bound together in Shīᶜite doctrine. For obviously the *Imām* is in possession of the secret knowledge which is the road to salvation.

The similarities between the Muᶜtazilites, the so-called "free thinkers" of the ᶜAbbāsid Caliphate and the early Shīᶜites has been noted by a number of scholars.[5] In both cases there was a lack of emphasis on traditions, so characteristic of Sunnī Islam; and there was no real system of Shīᶜite theology in the first three centuries of Islam. It was only under the Shiᶜīte Bōyid dynasty in the 10th and first half of the 11th century that Shīᶜite traditions were compiled thus initiating a system of theology. Of course before this time there was no need for such work since the *Imām* interpreted the faith for his followers. And after the disappearance of the twelfth *Imām*, there followed a period known as the "Lesser Concealment" or Occultation *(Al-ghaibat al-ṣughrā)* ca. 873-940 A.D., during which there were in succession four *wakīl* or agents of the *Imāms*, the first of whom was designated by the eleventh *Imām* as regent or guardian of his son, the last *Imām*. The fourth *wakīl*, ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Samurrī, died in 940 without naming a successor. Since that time the Hidden *Imām* has had no visible representative on earth. Also, since that time Shīᶜites have been obliged to collect and interpret traditions under the divine guidance of the Hidden *Imām*.

It is wrong, therefore, to say that the Shīᶜites have no collections of traditions comparable to the four Sunnī schools of law, for the books of criticism and interpretation written by Shīᶜite *ᶜulamā*᾽ in succeeding centuries are guides to thought and action for the Shīᶜites. The difficulties of characterizing Shīᶜite theology, however, are great because the sects are subdivided and so mixed that one cannot easily discover canonical beliefs. This is even true of the "Twelvers," the majority of the Shīᶜites. When the Shīᶜite Safavids came to power in Iran in the 16th century, a national church came into being and we find the institution of a Shaikh al-Islām, or head of the Shīᶜite divines, which parallels the state church of the Sassanids with their *mobadān mobad* over thirteen hundred years before. Perhaps the most famous of these Shaikhs under the Safavids was one Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī (d. 1698 or 1700), whose books are authority for much of "Twelver" Shīᶜism today. They are not, however, in the same category of the four Sunnī collections of traditions, which are held as law and closed law books at that, by various Sunnīs at the

[5] E.g. A Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam* trans. S. K. Bakhsh (Patna, 1937), 62.

present. In any case, after the break up of the Safavid state the office of Shaikh al-Islām lost most of its preeminence.

To return to Shīᶜite doctrine, the epiphany idea of the *Imām* was allied to the concept of a passion. Each of the *Imāms* is supposed to have died a martyr's death. These two beliefs led to a further expectation of a *Mahdī* or messiah, of parousia. The parallel with Christianity is obvious; the historical influence, however, is open to discussion. In the same breath one may call to mind parallels between the *Imāms* and the *Saoshyants* of the Zoroastrian faith, but again many problems arise. Zoroastrian influences appear more probable in other sects of the Shīᶜites which will be mentioned below.

Strothmann, in speaking of Shīᶜite theology, says: "The richer theological speculation (of the Shīᶜites) required to a greater extent (than the Sunni) the categories of philosophy and its dialectic for dogmatic stabilisation." [6] The result was that the theology became theosophy and gnosis came to the fore; again, however, some of the sects manifested this more than the "Twelvers."

Before turning to the sects, a word on the practical chain of authority in religious matters in Iran at present, with a concomitant recapitulation, may be in order. The five pillars of the "orthodox, Twelver" Shīᶜites are: God (*tōḥīd*), the prophets (*nabovvat*), the Imams (*imāmat*), justice (*ᶜadl*), and resurrection (*maᶜād*). The last two require some explanation. [7] The first (*ᶜadl*) absolves God of wrong. He can do no evil or bad to any man. He is all just, and man is free in choice of actions. The second (fifth pillar), resurrection, tells us that God resurrects the dead on the Last Judgement, weighing good and evil deeds. Both body and soul are resurrected such that a man is recognizable. There is much more to the matter than this, but we have no space to expound further on the beliefs of the "orthodox Twelvers." Let us turn to the question of the practical operation of authority in Iran. How are the "pillars" interpreted and administered? Public opinion, generally speaking, elects (or accepts) a local *mullā* because of his character and superior knowledge of religious affairs. By prolonged study one can obtain the degree of *mujtahid*, which is granted by older and established *mujtahids* for excellence in religious knowledge. The *mujtahids* have the right to give opinions on secondary matters. The *mujtahids* are the learned men of Shīᶜism and they elect one, who is generally considered the best man in Shīᶜa lands in knowledge, character and morals, to be the *ᶜuẓmā*, the interpreter of the faith for the *Imāms*. At present the holder of this office is Ayatallāh Burūjirdī, called Ayatallāh al-ᶜUẓmā, who resides in

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[6] In the article on Shīᶜa in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

[7] I rely on the following works for information: Muḥ. Ḥusain Al Kāshif, *Kitāb rīshe-ye shīᶜa*, trans. ᶜAlī Rezā Khosravī, (Teheran, 1951), 89-109, and the *Kitāb ᶜaqā'īd al-shīᶜa* by ᶜAlī Asghār ibn ᶜAlī Akbar (Teheran, no date, lithographed).

Qumm, centeı of the Shīᶜa world. Isfahan used to be the center, then Najaf, and now Qumm. To this town come students of religion to hear Ayatallāh al-ᶜUẓmā give lessons (*dars-e khārej*) from the *minbar.* There are five degrees of students who study a wide curriculum, the *hauze-ye ᶜilmiyye* (religious-scientific area).

All over Iran one may find the graves of *Imāmzādehs* which are places of pilgrimage, and around which *mujtahids* or dervishes, or shaikhs of some sort may collect. These provide the "sainthood" of Islam.

"THE SEVENERS"

Among the many sects of Shīᶜism the Ismāᶜīlī, or the "Seveners," have followers in Iran today, principally in the Birjand and Kashan regions. They believe that the *Imāmate* went to Ismāᶜīl, another son of the sixth *Imām,* Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq, and he (Ismāᶜīl) is the last of the visible *Imāms.* The Persian branch of Ismāᶜīlism (followers of Nizār) developed an elaborate theology, of which we know a good deal today, thanks especially to the researches of W. Ivanow. The doctrines of the sect are especially characterized by the *taʾwīl al-bāṭin* or "esoteric exegesis" which brings into Islam many foreign concepts. For example, the world was created by the universal mind acting on the universal soul, and history is a series of cycles of manifest and hidden *Imāms.* The number "seven" had special significance for the Ismāᶜīlīs. The "Seveners," among other things, especially after the destruction of Alamūt, their center in Iran, in 1256 by the Mongols, adopted Ṣūfī concepts and terminology. The Hidden *Imām* has a special sense for the Ismāᶜīlī, too involved to detail here. But to give an idea of one aspect of what it meant, one may quote Henry Corbin. "The 'quest for the *Imām*' represents for the Ismāᶜīlī that which the 'quest for the Grail' meant to our religious knights (*chevaliers mystiques*) and minstrels." [8]

It is impossible here to go further into the fascinating ideas of the Ismāᶜīlīs, for they present many facets as well as problems. Henry Corbin has studied and is studying the philosophical implications of Ismāᶜīlī doctrines, and in the introduction to his edition of the book of Nāṣir-e Khosrow, "Uniting the two wisdoms," which Corbin paraphrases as "harmony of Greek philosophy and Ismāᶜīlī theosophy," [9] we find a surprising philosophical development. Obviously the Ismāᶜīlīs were avid students of Greek philosophy and it seems of Christianity. This plainly appears in Ismāᶜīlī symbolism which also adapts motifs from Zoroastrianism. [10] Thus, Ismāᶜīlīsm has great in-

[8] Nāṣir-e Khosrow, *Kitāb-e Jāmiᶜ al-Ḥikmatain,* ed. H. Corbin (Teheran, 1953), introduction, 30.

[9] *Ibid.* 73.

[10] Cf. Corbin, "Le temps cyclique dans le Mazdéisme et dans l'Ismaélisme", *Eranos Jahrbuch,* 20 (Zürich, 1952), 183-217.

terest because of the richness of its thought and its influence in the intellectual and religious history of Iran. Today in Iran the sect is insignificant, but the Ismāʿīlī Khojas of India, with their leader the Aga Khān, are an important section of the Muslim community.

THE SHAIKHIS

We turn briefly to another Shīʿite sect in Iran, the Shaikhīs, predecessors of the Bābīs. Most of their followers became Bābīs but there still exists a small group of Shaikhīs with center in Kirman, and with a leader called Aqā-ye Ibrāhīmī, or as he is usually known Sarkar Aqā. The sect was founded by Shaikh Aḥmad Aḥsāʾī (d. ca. 1826) who came from Arabia to Iran in the time of Fatḥ ʿAlī-Shāh Qājār. His doctrine deviated from the "orthodox Twelver" doctrine in that he accepted three of the five pillars, but added a new fourth pillar. The Shaikhīs are also called *Ahl-e rukn-e rābeʿ* (people of the fourth pillar); they accept God, the prophets, and the twelve *Imāms*, but they add the spirit (for want of a better term) of the Hidden *Imām*, which is epiphanized in every century in some one, who is the representative of the Hidden *Imām* on earth. This doctrine, of course, was the background to the preaching of the Bāb. Although the Shaikhīs are also *Imamī* followers, for them the twelve *Imāms* are cosmic figures.[11] They are Shīʿite Gnostics *par excellence*, descendants of Proclus. In addition, to their extreme (in the eyes of "orthodox" Shīʿites) allegorical interpretation of the Qurʾān they emphasize the Resurrection. They would have appreciated the reported last words of Richard Strauss: "Tod und Verklärung, ist's wahr." There seem to be Zoroastrian influences in some of Shaikhī doctrine, but this is a matter for further study.[12]

The Bābīs are directly related to the Shaikhīs, for Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad, later known as the Bāb, was a student of Sayyid Kāẓim al-Reshtī, the successor of the founder of the Shaikhīs. The Bāb claimed he was the Twelfth *Imām* epiphanized in the world. The same fate met the Bāb in 1850, as had been meted out to the mystic Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj in 937. Both were executed.

THE DERVISHES OR MYSTICS

The number of dervish orders in Iran is legion, and it is very difficult to obtain information about them because by nature they are reserved for adepts or members. Also their relation with the

[11] The Shaikhīs emphasize their rationalism in explaining miracles, and they have an interesting doctrine of resurrection, of the *jism-e hūwārqiliyā'ī*; cf. "Shaikhī" in the *Ency. of Islam.*

[12] I wish to thank Henry Corbin who introduced me to the study of mysticism in Iran, and whose work has opened new vistas in our knowledge of religion in Iran.

Twelver Shīʿites is even more strained than the feelings of Communists and Socialists for each other. The Shīʿites and the mystics have much in common, but they are also at opposite poles, for the mystics, believing in direct contact with God, deny the need for an intermediate *Imām*.

Perhaps the most important dervish orders in Iran are those which derive from the school of Sayyid Niʿmatallāh Valī, whose shrine still stands in Māhān near Kirman. Niʿmatallāh died in 1431 and his followers continued in his footsteps to the present. There is a lovely shrine with library at Māhān, the center of this dervish order. Little can be said of the doctrines of the dervish orders in Iran to distinguish them from other mystics. Suffice it to say generally speaking they trace their pedigrees back to one of the *Imāms*, and they are speculative rather than given to special rites such as whirling or howling. Recitation of the writings of the *murshid* or of the Qurʾān is the usual way of inducing the mystical state. [13]

From the Niʿmatallāh order there branched a host of other orders, usually following a strong personality and local in scope. In the 19th century in Kirman a certain Raḥmat ʿAlī Shāh organized his own *tariqe* or *khānegāh*. His student was the well-known confidant of Naṣr al-Dīn Shāh, Mirzā Ḥasan, otherwise known as Ṣāfī ʿAlī Shāh who established a center in Teheran which still flourishes. Another follower of Niʿmatallāh was Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī Gunābādī whose shrine is at Behdukht in Khorāsān, and is well supported today.

Another dervish order which flourishes today is the Dhahabbiyya, with leaders Shaikh Aḥmad Khushnāvī in Shirāz, and Shaikh ʿImād in Ardabīl. This is an old order, and information about it is given by one of the chiefs of the order, Sayyid Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī al-Nairizī al-Shīrāzī in his book *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb*. The order is traced back to Shaikh Muḥammad al-ʿĀrif who is buried in Meshed. [14] There do not seem to be any special rites in the order, but God knows best.

In western Iran, among the Kurds, the famous Naqshbandiyya order of dervishes, and the Khāksariyya are said to exist though the writer has been unable to obtain any information about the latter, or even about the name. There are other dervish orders in Iran but they are of lesser importance and, as noted above, their practices are very similar.

THE GHOLĀṬ

The exaggerators are those who are considered by the Shīʿites to have broken away completely from the line of Shīʿite development

[13] Cf. A. K. Barq, "Tālīfāt-e-Sāfī ʿAlī Shāh", *Indo-Iranica*, 7 (Calcutta, 1954).
[14] Cf. the article "Dhahabbiyya" in Deh Khudā, *Lughat nāme* (Teheran, 1951), 197-8.

and indeed from Islam itself, so that generally speaking they are considered beyond the pale, lower than Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians (*Gabrs*). These groups have been studied by European scholars and information about them can be secured from western publications. All of them are found in western Iran, though some are today in Teheran.

The first group are the *Ahl-e Ḥaqq*, the "Truth Workers," literally "People of God." [15] There are many subdivisions to the *Ahl-e Ḥaqq* and there is no unity or generally accepted body of doctrine, canonical or otherwise. They all believe in the successive manifestations of God, and each time He appears with four or five angels. The first appearance of God was as Creator, the second as ᶜAlī. The fourth theophany was Sulṭān Ṣohāk, the founder of the religion. The angels emanate from God's armpit, His breath, or elsewhere. Men pass through 1,001 incarnations, and as in Buddhism the good come nearer to God, while the bad go further from Him. But in the Final Judgment the good enter paradise (contemplation of God) and the evil are annihilated. The rites of these people are varied including seances of walking on coals, animal sacrifices, and the like. They are related to the ᶜAlī Ilāhīs (below) in many points of ritual. It seems that these groups grew up in western Iran among Azerī Turkish and Gurānī speakers in the 15th century when the Turkoman dynasties of the Qaraqoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu were in power.

The ᶜAlī Ilāhīs are difficult to distinguish from the preceding. Some of the ᶜAlī-Ilāhīs are called Nuṣairīs, dating back to the 10th century to a certain Muḥammad b. Nuṣair Namūrī ᶜAbdī. The ᶜAlī Ilāhīs are found today in Kurdistān with centers at Kirmanshāh. They regard ᶜAlī as the Deity, while the *Ahl-e Ḥaqq* worship Sulṭān Ṣohāk. Their doctrines are wondrous in their syncretic nature, and most difficult to disentangle. They grow long moustaches to their chins, and meet on Thursday nights when they sit around a fire in a room reciting, or in contemplation, until one or more goes into a trance. In a state of ecstasy they pick up coals or burning wood and throw fire about the room. Witnesses say the carpets are not harmed thereby.

Near the Iraqi frontier are found Yezidis, the so-called "Devil Worshippers," though this is a misnomer. They believe in metampsychosis, and the active essence of God in this w... d in the symbol of Melek Ṭāᵓūs "the peacock angel." They have various stages of initiation and an elaborate ritual which has much of pre-Islamic beliefs in it. The Yezidis have been studied by E. S. Drower and others. [16] All of these aberrant sects have some connection with

[15] Cf. the article by V. Minorsky "Ahl-i Ḥakk" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam Supplement* where further references are given.

[16] E. S. Drower, *Peacock Angel* (London, 1941), and other publications of the Drowers.

Shīᶜism and the person of ᶜAlī, though the Yezidis are far removed therefrom. It is, of course, impossible to discuss these sects in this paper, and only a few remarks of possible interest have been made here. Suffice it to say that each of these *Gholāṭ* sects requires intensive study, for the accounts we have of them are descriptive and indicate a number of contradictory doctrines. What is needed now is careful research into the doctrines, tracing their history and showing analogies with other religions.

Finally, the Bahais may have a small claim for mention here (though they do not represent a Muslim sect) since they originated from the Bābīs. Today Bahais are not recognized as a religious group by the Shīᶜites. In fact they are ignored, as the state of Israel is by the Arabs. Yet the influence of the Bahais, with their emphasis on reason and universalism, must be strong among intellectuals in Iran today. Because in a sense Bahaism provides a religion for the intellectual, which is not provided by Shīᶜism, it is important. Since it is not Islamic its tenets cannot be discussed here.

CONCLUSION

The future of Islam in Iran is uncertain as elsewhere in the Muslim world. It is significant that in Iran, as elsewhere in the East, the great masses of people cling to traditional beliefs and the faith of their fathers. The intellectuals almost unanimously are irreligious, and they are separated from and have no influence over the religious life of the people. Hence, intellectually Islam in Iran is stagnating. A situation obtains similar to that in Russia before the Revolution. It is interesting that this state is almost the opposite of the West, where great masses of people are indifferent, while small groups are ardently engaging in religious activities. One should not say dogmatically that the intellectual has returned to religion in the West, but the number of philosophers, atomic scientists, and others who have turned to religion is significant.

So the future of Islam in Iran seems to be bound up with the question: Can Shīᶜite Islam develop so as to attract the intellectuals who must then set the pace for the rest? This was the situation in the Middle Ages, but today it is far more complicated because of the impact of the West. Perhaps the question to be asked is: Can Shīᶜite Islam provide a basis for liberalism, a basis for understanding scienc., technology, and, if you will, Westernization, and at the same time continue its traditions with the support of the masses? Superficially, the elements of a liberal philosophy of Shīᶜism seem to be present in the combination of *ijmāᶜ* (the consensus of opinion or English common law) and *ijtihād* (authority from 1 reason, and 2 grace of God as representing the Hidden *Imām*). One may say that since there is no absolutistic concept of law in Islam, much may be possible.

Harvard University. RICHARD N. FRYE

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REMARKS ON SOME NEW ISLAMIC SOURCES OF THE RUS

Byzantion, tome XVIII (1946-1948) Bruxelles. 1948.

REMARKS ON SOME

NEW ISLAMIC SOURCES OF THE RŪS

As has been justly remarked by Minorsky, the literature of Muslim sources on the Rūs and other peoples of South Russia is enormous (1). It is most unlikely that any new sources, or newly discovered manuscripts of published works, will give additional information on South Russia. The most recent discovery of a new Muslim source was the *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān* of Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī, an eleventh century writer (2). While little new is added to what is already known, Marvazī is now revealed as the source of many later Muslim authors who wrote on the Rūs. Even more interesting, but again probably with little new information is the Persian translation of the *Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* of Jayhānī, the famous geographer, and vezir of the Sāmānid amīr Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, in the first half of the tenth century. (On this work, cf. note at end).

In these few pages several unused manuscripts of published works, and three published accounts of the Rūs, or the Slavs, will be mentioned. The first manuscript is the huge compilation of twenty-two volumes by Shihāb al-dīn Faḍlallah al-'Umarī, entitled *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*. The author died in Damascus in 1348, after compiling this encyclopaedia, the first three volumes of which are concerned with geography. The mss. in western collections are all quite fragmentary, but in the library of Aya Sofya, Istanbul, nos. 3415-39, it is preserved complete (3). Although

(1) Minorsky, V., *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, London 1937, 432.

(2) Minorsky, V., *Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, 36, 118.

(3) The old catalogue (defter) of the library printed in Istanbul

parts of the geographical section have been translated into French, there is more information about our subject yet to be found in it (1).

Another manuscript is of the well-known *Kitāb al-Mamālik wa'l Masālik* of al-Bekrī, which was edited by Rosen (with Kunik) in his *Izvestiya al-Bekri i Drugikh Avtorov o Rusi i Slavyanakh*, St. Petersburg 1878. The new ms. is preserved in the library of the Laleli mosque, Istanbul, and was first brought to the attention of the scholarly world by H. Ritter who photographed it (2). Although this text is almost identical with the published text, some of the proper names have variant readings which may clear up minor points and uncertain readings.

While in Istanbul I copied part of a ms. of the *Jawāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt* of Muḥammad 'Aufī preserved in the Nur Osmaniya mosque library, no. 3272, which has an interesting section on the Rūs. It was later discovered that Barthold had edited and translated this passage with notes (3). « Aufī mentions several items worthy of reproduction. He says, « In the year 300 of the Hijra (912) they (the Rūs) became Christians and accepted the Christian faith. Then they put their swords in their scabbards (4). Since they knew no other profession (than the sword), and the door of their professions was (now) locked, they became distressed. Their pleasure was gone. So they became partial to the religion of Islam and became Muslims. Their motive in (accepting) Islam was that raiding and the holy war would be lawful for them. They

in 1304/1887 is unreliable. Cf. Brockelmann, C., *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, v. II, 141 ; SII, 185-6 ; also Dorn in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, St. Petersburg VI, 1872, 673-4, and Gaudefroy-Demombrans, *Masālik el-Absār* (western countries only), Paris 1927, pp. I-II.

(1) Quatremère, É., in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du roi*, tome 13, Paris 1838, 260, 286.

(2) *Der Islam*, v. 19, 1931, 57.

(3) Edited in the *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Russ. Arkh. Ova.* v. 9, 1896, 262-7 ; translated in his Arabskie Izvestiya o Rusakh, *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, I, 1940, 39.

(4) The swords of the Rūs were famous. Cf. *Kitāb al-Jamāhir fī ma'rifa ' l-Jawāhir* of Abū'l Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī, Hayderabad, Deccan, 1355/1936, 250, 254.

sent messengers to the Khwārazmshāh, who were four relatives (of their king). The king was quite independent and was called Vladimir (Būlādmīr), just as the king of Turkistān is called Khāqān, and the king of the Bulghārs Yiltavar (or Elteber) (1), etc. » The original (?) Arabic source from which 'Aufī copied his account has been published, and the words are almost identical. The translation from Arabic to Persian in this case was quite faithful (2).

The account of 'Aufī, in turn, was used by many later writers. The history of Shukrullah Shirwānī, written for the Ottoman sultan Murad II (3), copies 'Aufī almost verbatim, except for one emendation. In the account of the conversion of the Rūs to Christianity in 300, 'Aufī says ترساشدند (they became Christians), which Shukrullah changes to ترسانيده اند (they became afraid) and accepted Islam, not mentioning Christianity ; hence the story is somewhat different. The Marvazī-'Aufī-Shukrullah (and later authors) tradition is the only one where the name of the king of the Rūs, Vladimir is mentioned, but further searching, and perhaps the new Jayhānī ms., may add more light to this.

The first of the published works of interest here is the *Ta'rīkh-i-Fakhru'd-dīn Mubārakshāh*, ed. E. D. Ross, London 1927 (in Persian). It was written in 1206 (4). On page 42 the author says, « The Rūs (Rūsiyān) live in islands and do not indulge in tillage or cultivation. They are always boasting, and they make captives of the Slavs whom they sell. They carry away household articles (متيم كالا) and grain on raids, and make a living on these. They place a sword beside

(1) An old Turkish title found in the Orkhon inscriptions. This has been amended by A. Zeki-Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939, 105-6.

(2) The Arabic work is by Marvazī, ed. Minorsky, *op. cit.*

(3) On this book cf. Storey, C., *Persian Literature*, Section II, fasc. 1, London 1935, 91. I used the University of Istanbul copy F-801, not mentioned by Storey.

(4) Cf. Ross, E. D., The Genealogies of Fakhr-ud-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, in *'Ajab Nāme, a Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 392-4.

every son who is born, so that when he grows up his profession will be this (sword) (1). Part of them burn their dead and others bury them standing in the grave.

On p. 46 he says, « The Khazars also have a script which is related to the script of the Rūs. A group of Rūm, who are near them, write in this script and are called Rūm-Rūs. They write from left to right and the letters are not joined to one another. They number twenty-one (2) ».

The second published work is the *Akhbār al-Zamān* of Abū'l Ḥasan al-Mas'ūdī, written about 943, and printed in Cairo 1938 (3). On p. 69 Mas'ūdī says of the Slavs :

The Ṣaqāliba are composed of several nations. Some are Christians, while others are said to be Magians and worship the sun.

They have a fresh water sea which flows from a northern district to the south. They also have a sea which flows from east to west until it joins the final sea, which comes from the district of al-Bulghar. They have many rivers which are all in the north. There is not a salt sea because their land is far from the sun, hence their water is sweet. (Water) which is near the sun is salty. That (land) which extends beyond them on the north is uninhabited because of the great cold and earthquakes. Most of their tribes are Magians and they burn themselves (their dead) in the fire, and they worship it. They have many cities and towns, and churches with bells suspended in them, which they strike like a gong.

There is a group of them (Ṣaqāliba?) between the Ṣaqāliba (proper) and the Franks who hold the religion of the

(1) This is related first in Ibn Rûsta, *Kitāb al-'Alāq al-Nafīsa*, BGA VII, ed. de Goeje, 145.

(2) The *Kitāb al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig 1871, 20, says the Rus wrote on wood. (Trans. in C. M. Frähn, Ibn el-Nedim's Nachricht von der Schrift der Russen, *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*, Series 6, v. 3, St. Petersburg 1836, 513).

(3) Two manuscripts (both fragmentary) of this work were found one in Paris, cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, S I, 220. (A copy of this was placed in Cairo, cf. *Fihris al-Kutub al-'Arabīya al-maujūda bi Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya*, Cairo 1930, V. 13-4.) Another was found in the Timur library in Cairo; cf. introduction to the edition, p. 13 (s).

Sabians. It is said that they worship the stars. They have fine knowledge and capacity in every art. They war against the Ṣaqāliba, the Burjān, and the Turks. They have seven holidays during the year according to the names of the stars, but the most important of them is the festival of the sun.

Another source on the Rūs is the *Kitāb Manāhij al-Fikr wa Mabāhij al-'Ibr* by Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Warrāq al-Waṭwāṭ, who died 1318 (1). He was the source for Shams al-Dīn Dimishqī, who wrote his account of the Rūs shortly after the preceding (2). Al-Warrāq says:

They (Rūs) have islands in the sea of Māyuṭis (3) where they live. They fight the Khazars on war boats. They reach them from the bay which opens on to this sea from the river Itil. When they travel along the course of the river, they continue from the final bay which empties into the Caspian Sea; then they launch an attack upon them (the Khazars). They (the Rūs) are Magians in religion (4) and burn their dead in fire. Some shave their beards, some twist them, and others braid them. They have a special language. This people is a neighbor of Al-Ālān and al-Burjān.

From these accounts little is added to the material already known about South Russia in the early Middle Ages, but much remains to be done in the study and *interpretation* of the material now available. It is now possible for a Slavic scholar to work on the translations and notes available from Islamic sources, and, in combination with other sources, to present a clearer picture of the history of the period.

Note on the Jayhānī Manuscript in Kabul.

The importance of Jayhānī as the source for later Muslim authors, especially for the peoples and countries of Central

(1) This passage is reproduced in Seippel, *Rerum Normannicarum Fontes Arabici*, Christianae (Oslo) 1896, 103-4. Cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, S. II, 54.

(2) Mehren, M. A. F., ed. *Cosmographie de Chems ed-Dīn Abou Abdallah Mohammed ed-Dimichqui*, St. Pétersbourg 1866, 262.

(3) Dimishqī: مانيطس.

(4) Dimishqī adds: « **Then they became Christians** ».

Asia, has been noted many times (1). Suffice it here merely to describe the ms. preserved in the museum of Kabul, Afghanistan.

I was only able to make a cursory examination of the manuscript, for it was then in « constant use », but was assured that it would be published in due time, inshallah! At a first glance the manuscript does not seem old. The writing is quite legible naskhī, and not different from the usual 16-19th century manuscript style of Persian. The ms. is entitled *Ashkāl al-'Ālam* or *Masālik-i-Mamālik of Jayhānī*. In the text his name is given as Abū'l Qāsim ibn Aḥmad Jayhānī (2). There are only forty-three sheets, and eighty-one written pages with nineteen well-drawn maps in color. The length of a page is 28 cm. and 18 cm. wide, with 27 lines to the page.

On page one the translator says that the king of the times (pādishāh-i-'aṣr) Abū'l Naṣr 'Alī Khwāja Ibn Muḥammad wālī amīr al-Mūminīn (3), ordered this book, which was in his private library, translated from Arabic to Persian. On page 81 the translator gives his name as 'Abd al-Aṣghar 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Salām. At the very end the name of the scribe is recorded as al-Kātib 'Abd al-Ḍa'īf Naḥīf Ḥājī Khān ibn Marḥūmī Maghfūrī Ḥājī Muḥammad Ḥusain Qazwīnī, written in the month of Jumādā the second of the year 18. All of which sounds quite peculiar.

On page one the purpose of the book is declared to be a

(1) Cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, I, 228 ; S. I, 407. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 12-3. I have just received from Kabul reprints of three articles describing the manuscript, which have been used to check my own observations, as well as to add additional information. The articles are entitled the Ashkāl al-'Ālam yā Masālik-i-Mamālik, by Hāshim Shāīq in the journal *Aryānā*, vol. I, nº 2, 27-32 (with two maps reproduced), vol. III, 40-44, and vol. V, 23-7, all of the year 1943.

(2) The name of Jayhānī as preserved in the *Irshād al-Arīb* of Yāqût, ed. D. H. Margoliouth, London 1909, II, 59, is Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr Abû 'Abdallah al-Jayhānī. The same is found in the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* of ibn al-Nadīm, ed. G. Flügel, 138.

(3) The ruler, under whom Jayhānī was vezir, was Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl, generally considered the third ruler of the Sāmānid dynasty.

description of the countries of Islam, the seas (daryā-hā) and the canals (or rivers : jūī-hā). Jūī is not a word one would expect to find in this sense in the beginning of an old classical text. However on page 76, in speaking of the city of Samarqand, the story of an iron plate with Himyaritic writing on it, affixed to a gate of the city, is related. This story has been passed on by a number of later geographers, the earliest of whom is Ibn Ḥauqal. He relates, « Abū Bakr al-Dimishqī said, I saw on a great gate (of the city of Samarqand) an iron plate with writing on it. The people believed it was Himyaritic » (1). The relatively large section (pp. 72 - end on Transoxania would tend to support the authenticity of the work, for Jayhānī was an inhabitant of Bukhārā and well-informed on the peoples and countries of Central Asia.

Although this is only an abridged translation of the work of Jayhānī, it should certainly be published, preferably in photostat, so it could be examined to determine its relationship to other Muslim geographers. It is possible that new information may be found in it, but *ā'alama Allah.*

R. FRYE.

(1) *Opus Geographicum auctore Ibn Haukal*, ed. J. H. Kramers, BGA II, (new series) Leiden 1939, 494. I have seen this story referred to Jayhānī, but cannot locate the source at present.

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NOTES TO ISLAMIC SOURCES ON THE SLAVS AND THE RŪS

The Muslim World, issue of January 1950.

NOTES TO ISLAMIC SOURCES ON THE SLAVS AND THE RŪS

As has been justly remarked by Minorsky, the literature of Muslim sources on the Rūs and other peoples of South Russia is enormous.[1] It is most unlikely, however, that any new sources, or newly discovered manuscripts of published works, will give additional information on South Russia. The most recent discovery of a new Muslim source was the *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān* of Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marvazī, an eleventh century author.[2] While little new is added to what is already known, Marvazī is now revealed as the source of many later Muslim authors who wrote on the Rūs. Another geographical text with interesting information, but perhaps of spurious authorship, is the Persian translation of the *Masālik wa'l-mamālik,* supposedly written by Jayhānī, the famous geographer and vezir of the Sāmānid amīr Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, in the first half of the tenth century.[3]

Several unused manuscripts of published works, and two published accounts of the Rūs or the Slavs, will be discussed briefly here. The first manuscript is the huge compilation of twenty-two volumes by Shihāb al-dīn Faḍlallāh al'Umarī, entitled *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār.* The author died in Damascus in 1348, after compiling this encyclopaedia, the first three volumes of which are concerned with geography. The *MSS.* in western collections are all quite fragmentary, but in the library of Aya Sofya, Istanbul, nos. 3415-39, it is preserved complete.[4] Although parts of the geographical section have been summarily translated into

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[1] V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* (London, 1937), 432. It is perhaps presumptuous to say anything on this subject after the exhaustive studies of Minorsky, but the material for this paper was gathered in Turkey from *MSS,* which were later checked by published texts, and a few new items of interest were found.

[2] V. Minorsky, *Marvazī on China, the Turks and India,* (London, 1942), 36, 118.

[3] On this work see the note at the end of this article.

[4] The old catalogue *(defter)* of this library, printed in Istanbul in 1304/1886, is unreliable; cf. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur,* II, 141; S II, 175-6; also Dorn in *Mélanges Asiatiques,* (St. Petersburg, 1872), 673-4, and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, (trans.) *Masālik el-Abṣār* (Paris, 1927), pp. I-II. This deals only with the countries of the west.

French, there is more information about our subject yet to be found in it.[5]

Another manuscript is the well-known *Kitāb al-mamālik wa'l masālik* of *al-Bekrī,* which was edited by Baron von Rosen and Kunik in their *Izvestiya al-Bekri i Drugikh Avtorov o Rusi i Slavyanakh,* (St. Petersburg, 1878). The new *MS* is preserved in the library of the Laleli mosque, Istanbul, and was first brought to the attention of the scholarly world by H. Ritter, who had it photographed.[6] Although this *MS* is almost identical with the published text, some of the proper names have variant readings which may clear up minor points and uncertain readings.

While in Istanbul I copied part of a *MS* of the *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt* of Muḥammad 'Aufī preserved in the Nur Osmaniya mosque library, no. 3272, which has an interesting section on the Magyars, Slavs and Rūs. It was later discovered that Bartold had edited and translated the passage on the Rūs with a few notes.[7] The text published by Bartold was almost identical with the *MS* of Istanbul. Another *MS* from the India Office, London, (Persian, No. 595), however, contained a number of variants. 'Aufī's section on the Magyars and Slavs *(Saqāliba),* as well as the Rūs, is translated below.

"There is another branch of the Turks who are called Magyars. They have a large dominion, the extent of which is a hundred by a hundred *farsangs.* Whenever their chief mounts (a steed), twenty thousand horsemen mount with him. Their land is called *Kndh.*[8] They have tents and they travel with their beasts of burden. Their land [I.O. *MS*—extends until it] joins the sea of Rūm. The abode of this people is on the banks of [I.O. *MS*—two rivers], one called

[5] E. Quatremère, in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du roi,* 13. (Paris, 1838), 268-286.

[6] *Der Islam,* 19. (1931), 57.

[7] V. Bartold, "Novoye musulmanskoe izvestie o russkikh," *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Russ. Arkh. Ova.* 9, (1896), 262-7; translated in his "Arabskie Izvestiya o Rusakh," *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie,* 1 (Moscow, 1940), 39.

[8] *Marvazī, op. cit.,* 35, says the name of the chief is **knda;* on this see *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* 323-324, and A. Zeki-Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht* (Leipzig, 1939), 260.

Wfā, and one called *Atl.*[9] They are larger than the Oxus river. They (the Magyars) continually make war on the Slavs and the Rūs, and they are always victorious over those others. They take prisoners and carry them to Rūm to be sold. They always have many advantages because of trade [I.O. *MS*—war].

"The Slavs *(Ṣaqāliba),* however, are a numerous folk. Between their land and the land where they [*sic*] are settled it is amongst many forests.[10] The land of the Pechenegs is thirteen days and nights distant, but there is no road, rather deserts and woods and springs of water. They are fire worshippers and burn human beings [*sic*—read: their dead.][11] Their fields are of millet and they have a drink (prepared from honey). Their weapons are axes and spears, and their shields are the finest. They have a chief called *Swyt* and every leader they had was called by this name.[12] The deputy is called *Swbh.* They have a town called *Khrrān,* which has a bazaar three days in every month.[13] People of the area come and buy and sell.

"The Rūs live on an island in a sea, which island is three days' journey long and the same in width.[14] On that island are trees and thickets, and the sea is all around it. They continually engage in robbery and their existence and profession are by the sword. If one of them dies and a son and daughter remain, they give all the possessions (of the defunct) to the daughter, and they give the son no more than a sword, saying your father secured his fortune by the use of the sword [I.O. *MS*—you imitate your father. In the books it was related that their faith was such]. In the year 300 of the Hijra (912) they (the Rūs) became Christians and ac-

[9] On this passage cf. *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* 321-324.

[10] Something is missing, probably "between them and the land of the Pechenegs," as in Marvazi, *op. cit.,* 35.

[11] *Marvazi,* 117. On the Ṣaqāliba in general, and their identification, cf. *Ibn Faḍlān, op. cit.,* 295-331.

[12] This name has been explained as *Svetopluk,* cf. *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* 430.

[13] The first name has been identified as the title *župan,* the town possibly as Cracow, *ibid.,* 431.

[14] It has been proposed that the Rūs established their center in the Azov Sea region, and the island refers to that area, cf. G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia* (New Haven, 1943), 282.

cepted the Christian faith. Then they put their swords in their scabbards.[15] Since they knew no other profession (than the sword), and the door of their profession was (now) locked, they became distressed. Their pleasure was gone. So they became partial to the religion of Islam and became Muslims. Their motive in (accepting) Islam was that raiding and the holy war would be lawful for them. They sent messengers to the Khwārazmshāh, who were four kinsmen (of their king). The king was independent and was called Vladimir *(Būlādmīr),* just as the king of Turkistān is called *Khāqān,*[16] and the king of the Bulghārs *Yiltavar* (or *Eltebər).* When the messengers came to the Khwārazmshāh he was pleased that they were well inclined towards Islam. He showed them honors and sent a religious man (of the imāms) to teach them the principles of Islam. Then they all became Muslims. They made raids on distant lands and always travelled by sea in boats. Every boat which they encountered they attacked and pillaged. They were more powerful than other nations, except they had no horses. If they had had horses they would have conquered many peoples."

A *MS* of the original Arabic source from which 'Aufī copied his account was discovered a few years ago in the India Office library, and the words are almost identical. The translation from Arabic to Persian in this case was quite faithful.[17]

The account of 'Aufī in turn was used by many later writers. The history of Shukrullāh Shirvānī, written for the Ottoman sultan Murad II,[18] copies 'Aufī almost verbatim, except for one emendation. In the account of the conversion of the Rūs to Christianity in 300, 'Aufī says *tarsānīdeh—ānd* "they became Christians," which Shukrullāh changes to *tarsā shudand* "they became afraid" and accepted Islam, not mentioning Christianity. The Marvazī—'Aufī-Shukrullāh,

[15] The swords of the Rūs were famous. Cf. *Kitāb al-jamāhir fi ma'rifa 'l jawāhir* of Abū'l Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (Hyderabad, Deccan, 1355/1936), 250, 254.

[16] This is an old Turkish title found in the Orkhon inscriptions. The Arabic reading has been amended by A. Zeki-Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht* (Leipzig, 1939), 105-6.

[17] The Arabic work is Marvazī, *op. cit.*

[18] On this book cf. C. Storey, *Persian Literature,* Section II, fasc. 1, (London, 1935), 91. I used the University of Istanbul copy, F-801, not mentioned by Storey.

(and later authors) tradition is the only one where the name of the king of the Rūs, Vladimir, is mentioned, but further searching may add more light to this.

The first of the published works of interest here is the *Ta'rīkh-i-Fakhru'd-dīn Mubārakshāh*, Persian ed. by E. D. Ross (London, 1927). It was written in 1206.[19] On page 42 the author says, "The Rūs (Rūsiyān) live in islands and do not indulge in tillage or cultivation. They are always boasting, and they make captives of the Slavs whom they sell. They carry away household articles and grain on raids, and make a living on these. They place a sword beside every son who is born, so that when he grows up his profession will be this (sword).[20] Part of them burn their dead and others bury them standing in the grave."

On p. 46 he says, "The Khazars also have a script which is related to the script of the Rūs. A group of Rūm, who are near them, write in this script and are called Rūm-Rūs. They write from left to right and the letters are not joined to one another. They number twenty-one."[21]

The second published work is the *Akhbār al-zamān* supposedly written by Abū'l Ḥasan al-Mas'ūdī about 943, and printed in Cairo in 1938.[22] On p. 69 the author says of the Slavs:

"The Ṣaqāliba are composed of several nations. Some are Christians, while others are said to be Magians and worship the sun.

"They have a fresh water sea which extends from a northern district to the south. They also have a sea which extends

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[19] Cf. E. D. Ross, "The Genealogies of Fakhr-ud-Dīn Mubārak Shāh," in *'Ajab Nāme, a Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne* (Cambridge, 1922), 392-4.

[20] This is related in Ibn Rūsta, *Kitāb al-a'lāq al-nafīsa*, BGA VII, ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden, 1892), 145.

[21] The *Kitāb al-fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, ed. G. Flügel, (Leipzig, 1871), 20, says the Rūs wrote on wood. (Trans. in C. M. Frähn, "Ibn el-Nedim's Nachricht von der Schrift der Russen," *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*, Series 6, vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1836), 513.) The old Church Slavonic alphabet had 38 different characters.

[22] Two manuscripts (both fragmentary) of this work were found, one in Paris; cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, S I, 220. A copy of this was placed in Cairo; cf. *Fihrist al-kutub al-'Arabiya al-maujūda bi dār al-kutub al-Miṣrīya*, 5 (Cairo, 1930), 13-4. Another was found in the Tīmūr library in Cairo; cf. introduction to the edition, p. 13 (s).

from east to west until it joins the final (another?) sea, which comes from the district of al-Bulghār. They have many rivers which are all in the north. There is not a salt sea because their land is far from the sun, hence their water is sweet. (Water) which is near the sun is salty. That (land) which extends beyond them on the north is uninhabited because of the great cold and earthquakes. Most of their tribes are Magians and they burn themselves (their dead) in the fire, and they worship it. They have many cities and towns, and churches with bells suspended in them, which they strike like a gong.

"There is a group of them (other people?) between the Saqāliba (proper) and the Franks who hold the religion of the Sabians.[23] That is to say that they worship the stars. They have fine knowledge and capacity in every art. They war against the Saqāliba, the Burjān, and the Turks. They have seven holidays during the year according to the names of the planets, but the most important of them is the festival of the sun."[24]

Another source on the Rūs is the *Kitāb manāhij al-fikr wa mabāhij al-ʿibr* by Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Warrāq al-Waṭwāṭ, who died 1318.[25] He was the source of Shams al-Dīn Dimashqī, who wrote his account of the Rūs shortly after the preceding.[26] Al-Warrāq says:

"They (Rūs) have islands in the sea of Māyuṭis[27] where they live. They fight the Khazars on war boats. They reach them from the bay which opens on to this sea from the river Itil. When they travel along the course of the river, they continue from the final bay which empties into the Caspian Sea; then they launch an attack upon them (the Khazars). They (the Rūs) are Magians in religion[28] and burn their dead in

[23] It is unclear to whom this refers. This is not found in other Islamic geographers.

[24] Some Muslims thought the people of eastern and northern Europe were fire and sun worshippers; Marvazī, *op. cit.*, 117, and note 28 below.

[25] This passage is reproduced in A. Seippel, *Rerum Normannicarum Fontes Arabici* (Christianiae, 1896), 103-4. Cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, S II, 54.

[26] A.F. Mehren, ed. *Cosmographie de Chems ed-Dīn Abou Abdallah Mohammed ed-Dimichqui* (St. Pétersbourg, 1866), 262.

[27] Dimashqī adds: "Then they became Christians."

[28] The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 158, says this of the Slavs. See also ʿAufī above, and Ibn Rusta, *op. cit.*, 144.

fire. Some shave their beards, some twist them, and others braid them. They have a special language. This people is a neighbor of al-Ālān and al-Burjān."

From these accounts little is added to the material already known about South Russia in the early Middle Ages, but much remains to be done in the study and *interpretation* of the material now available. It is more and more becoming possible for a Slavic scholar to work on the translations and notes available from Islamic sources, and, in combination with other sources, to present a clearer picture of the history of the period.

Note on the Jayhānī Manuscript in Kābul[28a]

The importance of Jayhānī as the source for later Muslim authors, especially for the peoples and countries of Central Asia, has been frequently emphasized.[29] I wish here merely to describe the *MS* preserved in the state museum of Kābul, Afghanistan.

I was only able to make a cursory examination of the manuscript for it was then the subject of continuous study. At a first glance the manuscript does not seem old. The writing is quite legible *naskhī,* and not different from the usual 16-19th century manuscript style of Persian. The *MS* is entitled *Āshkāl al-'ālam* or *Masālik-i-mamālik* of Jayhānī. In the text his name is given as Abū'l Qāsim ibn Aḥmad Jayhānī.[30] There are only forty-three sheets, and eighty-one written pages, with nineteen maps in color which are well done. The pages are 28 cm. long and 18 cm. wide, with 27 lines to the page.

On page one the translator says that the king of the times *(pādishāḥ-i-'aṣr)* Abū'l Nāṣr 'Alī Khwāja Ibn Muḥammad wālī amīr

[28a] My article was written at the beginning of 1947, before the publication of the article by V. Minorsky, "A False Jayhānī," in *BSOAS,* 13 (1949), 89-96. I am happy to see my remarks confirmed by Professor Minorsky whose article now adds to the remarks below.

[29] Cf. Brockelmann, op. cit., I, 228; S I, 407. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion,* 12-3. I have just received from Kābul reprints of three articles describing the manuscript, which have been used to check my own observations, as well as to add additional information. The articles are entitled the "Āshkāl al-'Ālam yā Masālik-i-Mamālik," by Hāshim Shāiq in the journal *Aryānā,* vol. 1, no. 2, 27-32 (with two maps reproduced), vol. 3, 40-44, and vol. 5, 23-7, all of the year 1943.

[30] The name of Jayhānī as preserved in the *Irshād al-arīb of Yāqūt,* ed. D. H. Margoliouth (London, 1909), II, 59, is Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr Abū 'Abdallāh al-Jayhānī. The same is found in the *Kitāb al-fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, ed. G. Flügel, 138.

al-Mu'minīn,[31] ordered this book, which was in his private library, translated from Arabic to Persian. On page 81 the translator gives his name as 'Abd al-Aṣghar 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Salām. At the very end, the name of the scribe is recorded as al-Kātib 'Abd al-Ḍa'if Naḥīf Ḥājī Khān ibn Marḥūmī Maghfūrī Ḥājī Muḥammad Ḥusain Qazwīnī, written in the month of Jumādā the second of the year 18. The latter is clearly an abbreviation and the date of writing cannot be determined.

On page one the purpose of the book is declared to be a description of the countries of Islam, the seas (*daryā-hā*) and the canals (or rivers—jūī-hā). *Jūī* is not a word one would expect to find in this sense, in the beginning of a classical text. However on page 76, in speaking of the city of Samarqand, the story of an iron plate with Himyaritic writing on it, affixed to a gate of the city, is related. This story has been passed on by a number of later geographers, the earliest of whom is *Ibn Ḥauqal*. He relates, "Abū Bakr al-Dimashqī said, I saw on a great gate (of the city of Samarqand) an iron plate with writing on it. The people believed it was Himyaritic."[32] The relatively large section (pp. 72 to the end) on Transoxiana would tend to support contention that the author was a native of this area. Jayhānī was an inhabitant of Bukhārā and well-informed on the peoples and countries of Central Asia.

The value of the Kābul Jayhānī *MS*, however, cannot be determined without careful examination and comparison with other Islamic geographers. Now there are two Persian *MSS* preserved in the British Museum which are said to be the geography of Jayhānī,[33] but it has been proposed that both were probably copied from Iṣṭakhrī's work.[34] One of these *MS* (Or. 1587) is dated 1256/1840, copied in the city of Kābul! Thus it may well be a copy of the *MS* preserved in the Kābul museum or vice-versa. If such is the case, although there is not enough evidence to be sure, then the *MS* of Jayhānī preserved in Kābul is not even a partial translation of the lost opus. It is highly improbable that this will ever be found, but so much has been borrowed by other geographers from Jayhānī that in a sense Jayhānī is not lost.

RICHARD N. FRYE

Harvard University

[31] The ruler, under whom Jayhānī was vezir, was Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma' īl, generally considered the third ruler of the Sāmānid dynasty.

[32] *Opus Geopraphicum auctore Ibn Haukal*, ed. J. H. Kramers, BGA II, new series, (Leiden, 1939), 494. I have seen a reference referring this story to Jayhānī, but cannot locate the source.

[33] C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, I (London, 1879), 415-8, nos. Add. 23, 542 and Or. 1587.

[34] S. Janicsek, "Al-Djaihani's lost Kitab al-Masalik val-Mamalik," *BSOS*, 5 (1928), 19-21.

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NOTES ON THE RISALA OF IBN-FADLAN

Byzantina Metabyzantina, vol. I, part 2
(New York, 1949).

NOTES ON THE RISALA OF IBN-FADLAN

I

Of all the Arab writers who visited the far northern lands, and left to posterity an account of their adventures, unquestionably the first place accrues to Ibn-Faḍlān, whose complete work languished in obscurity for 1000 years, when a nearly complete MS. of his work was discovered in the library of the mosque at Mešhed in Persia. This discovery, which burst upon the world of scholars in 1924, was followed fifteen years after its announcement by two editions which appeared simultaneously in the USSR and in Germany, both of which unquestionably represent important contributions to western Asiatic history, even though, and perhaps because, they are conceived and executed from quite different points of view.

The manuscript, which seems definitely to have been discovered by the Turkish (Baškir) scholar A. Zeki Validi Togan, forms part of a *Sammelhandschrift*, which contains a triad of geographical texts: Ibn al-Faqīh, Abū Dulaf and Ibn-Faḍlān. Our knowledge of the work of our author had hitherto in large measure been based on the *Geographical Dictionary* of Yāqūt, with some casual extracts or references from Aḥmad Ṭūsī, but the accuracy and the veracity (except for some small details) had put the author high on the list of Arab *Berichterstätter*. Another lead on Ibn-Faḍlān has been indicated by Togan — this is the later writer Amīn Rāzī (ca. 1593). Nonetheless the discovery of the MS. (incomplete though it may be) has put us on a much sounder footing, and the character and background of the mission has been clarified.

This essay makes no pretensions of great originality: it is frankly a *travail de vulgarisation*. The two editions are hard to come by, yet much of the material contained therein is of great importance for many scholars outside the historical field, and some indication of its spread and content will perhaps prove useful to them.

We are accordingly giving here an English translation of the hitherto unknown parts of the text, an exception being made for the introductory paragraphs which are preserved in Yāqūt. This is

based fundamentally upon the Arabic text, but has been checked with the Russian translation and also with the German text. The two translations vary somewhat. ZV has paid much more attention to place and proper names which are rather schematically reproduced and vocalized in IFR. The former is more interpretative and less literal than the Russian version. We have tried to reduce to a minimum explicative words, which are underlined. The chief divergences are given in footnotes; ZV = Zeki Validi's edition: IFR = the Russian version. We have restricted this to real differences. ZV's transcription (that of the ZDMG) has been followed: readers will please note that ġ denotes the 'ghain,' and ğ the 'jīm.' To the translation are subjoined a series of notes regarding the textual transmission; and also some remarks on the geographical and economic aspects of the new part of the text, while we close with a short summary in classified form of the important exegetic material contained in ZV's excursuses, which are as labyrinthine as they are learned.

Before we start on this program, however, it is necessary briefly to describe the two editions. We shall begin with that of ZV.

This was published in the *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XXIV. 3 (Leipzig-Brockhaus 1939) under the title "Ibn-Faḍlān's Reisebericht von A. Zeki Validi Togan XXXIV + 337 + 1 - 45 (1–45) pp. 8°." The end of the preface is dated 18-9-1939 at Istanbul. The introduction (I-XXXIV) is followed by the translation with a series of excursuses, which refer to points in the text following the paragraph system, which Togan has introduced (103 in all). At the end of the book comes the Arabic text, accompanied by critical notes. A copy of this edition was sent to R. P. Blake by the author through the kind offices of Mr. Thomas Whittemore.

The Russian edition was published by the Russ. Acad. of Sciences in 1939 in the form of a separate monograph 193 pp. + 33 plates of photographic facsimiles of the MS. in large 8° under the title Путешествие Ибн-Фадлана на Волгу. The edition comprises an introduction (p. 5/6) by I. Iu. Kračkovskii and a long anonymous chapter on Ibn-Faḍlān and the Mešhed MS. (p. 7-51). This is written by the translator, whose name does not appear, but whom we know from Hellmut Ritter's article in the ZDMG (1942, 98) to have been A. P. Kovalevskii.[1] The translation (pp. 55-86)

[1] Ковалевский, А. П., Новооткрытый **текст Ибн-Фадлана**, Вестник Древней Истории I (1938), 57-71.

is not divided up into paragraphs, but only marked by the pages of the MS. It is accompanied by a series of notes (commentary pp. 87-171) strictly philological in character, which in the main are concerned with the parallel tradition in Yāqūt; the readings of the individual MSS. of this author are adduced as far as possible. Thereafter follows a summary of the sources and secondary material (*Hülfsmittel:* pp. 172-182) and an Arabic and Russian index to the notes (pp. 182-93). Finally the pages of the MS. are reproduced.

The story of the publication is given by H. Ritter (*op. cit.*). The photographs in the Prussian State Library, made by E. Herzfeld, were utilized by ZV for his edition, while the Iranian government in 1935 sent a photostatic copy of the MS. to the Russian Academy of Sciences.

We now adduce the translation of the text. In the notes are indicated the points where the two interpretations vary: where the Russian word is easily transposible into an English equivalent, we quote it as such; where doubt might arise, the original vocable is quoted. Words which must be added for the sense are put in italics; in the main we have tried to define technical terms rather than to give something approximating the concept, and have also endeavored to reproduce the somewhat colloquial flavor of the original.

II

IBN-FAḌLĀN

(1) f. 196b. This is <the book of Aḥmad ibn-Faḍlān ibn-al-Abbās, ibn Rāšid, ibn-Ḥammād, a client of Muḥammad ibn-Sulaymān, the ambassador from al-Muqtadir to the king of the Ṣaqāliba,> in *which* he recounts what he saw in the land of the Turks, the Ḥazars, the Rūs, the Ṣaqāliba, the Baškirs and the others, of the many types of their religion, f. 197a/ of the histories of their kings and the way they act in many affairs of their life.[1] Aḥmad ibn-Faḍlān says: "The letter of the Yilṭawār, the king of the Ṣaqāliba, <of Almïš, his son,>[2] reached the Commander of the Faithful, al-Muqtadir; he asked him therein to send him someone who would instruct him in religion and make him acquainted with the laws of Islam; who would build for him a mosque and erect for him a pulpit from which might be carried out the mission of converting his people in his whole country and in all the districts of his king-

dom. And he prayed the Caliph to build a fortress wherein he might defend himself against hostile kings. The intermediary in this matter was Nadīr al-Ḥuramī.[3] [*Everything* that was asked for was granted to him.] [4] I was chosen[5] to read the message *of the Caliph* to him, to hand over what he had sent him as gifts and to have oversight over those learned in the law and the teachers. To carry the expenses[6] in constructing what we have mentioned, and for payment to the learned in the law and the teachers, there were applied the revenues of one of the estates of ibn-al-Furāt, that which is known as the estate of Artaḫušmītan, from the land of Chwārezm. The ambassador of the ruler of the Ṣaqāliba to Muqtadir was a man who was called ʿAbdallāh ibn-Bāštū al-Ḫazarī [and the ambassador of the sulṭān was Sausan al-Rasī, the client of Nadīr al-Ḥuramī.] [7] Also there were Takīn al-Turkī, Bārs al-Ṣaqlābī, and I, too, was with them, as I have *already* said. The gifts for him, for his wife, his children, his brothers and his generals, and at the same time the drugs for which he had written to Nadīr, were all handed over to him.[8]

(2) [So we started on Thursday, the 11th of Ṣafar of the year 309 (June 21, 921) from the City of Peace (Baġdād).][9] We stopped a day in Nahrawān and from there went swiftly on until we reached al-Daskara, where we stopped for three days. Then we travelled straight onward without any detours until we reached Ḥulwān. There we stayed two days. From there we went to Qirmīsīn, where we remained two days. Then we started and travelled until we reached Hamadān, where we remained three days. Then we went further to Sāwa, where we remained two days. From there *we came* to Ray where we remained eleven days waiting for Aḥmad ibn-ʿAlī, the brother of Ṣaʿlūk,[10] because he was in Ḫuwār al-Ray. Then we went to Ḫuwār al-Ray and remained there three days.

(3) Then we set off for Simnān, from thence to Dāmġān and met there ibn-Qārin,[11] the representative of the Dāʿī (dissidents) and mingled with a caravan and went swiftly to Nīsābūr, where Lailā ibn-Nuʿmān had just been killed, and we found there the army commander of Ḫorāsān, Ḥammūwayh Kūsā.[12] Then we went to f. 197b/ Saraḫs and Merv and from there to Qušmahān which *lies* at the edge of the desert of Āmul, and remained here three days, letting the camels rest up so that we could enter the sand-steppe.

(4) Then we cut across the sand-steppe to Āmul and crossed the Ġaiḥūn (Oxus). Then we came to Āfribar, the burg of Ṭāhir ibn-ʿAlī.[13] Then we went to Baikand and then entered into Buḫārā.

There we paid a visit to the chancellor[14] of the governor of Ḫorāsān, al-Ǧaihānī, whom people in Ḫorāsān call "the elder bulwark."[15] He moved at once to obtain quarters for us and appointed a man to look after our needs and in general to satisfy any desires we had. After staying *in Buḫārā* several days, he obtained for us an audience with the governor, Naṣr ibn-Aḥmad. We came before him; he was a beardless youth; we greeted him like an amīr and he commanded us to be seated. His talk with us began with the following words: "How did you leave my master, the Commander of the Faithful? May God grant to him, to his guard and to his clients long life and good health!" We answered, *"He is* in good health." Said he, "May God give him fortune in this regard." Then the letter from the Caliph was read to him, concerning the transfer of the estate of Artaḫušmītan from the Christian al-Faḍl ibn-Mūsā, the bailiff of ibn-al-Furāt, and its transfer to the Chwārezmian Aḥmad ibn-Mūsā, and that he should send us along with a letter to his governor in Chwārezm so that he should not delay us, and a letter for the Turkish gateway to give us an escort and to remove hindrances. Said he: "Where is this Aḥmād ibn-Mūsā?" We answered, "We have left him in the City of Peace (Baǧdād) to follow us within five days." Then he said, "Obedience and submission to what my master, the Commander of the Faithful, commands! May God lengthen his life."

(5) He says: In the meantime the report had reached the Christian al-Faḍl ibn-Mūsā, the bailiff of ibn-al-Furāt, and he began to lay traps for Aḥmad ibn-Mūsā and wrote to the heads of the police of the towns on the road to Ḫorāsān, from Ǧundsaraḫs to Baikandāz: "Keep an eye out for the Chwārezmian Aḥmad at the relay points and at the police stations.[16] He is a person of such and such outward appearance and demeanour. Whoever meets him,[17] let him detain him until our letter comes to him and treat him in accordance with his rank." And so he was arrested at Merv and put in jail. We waited in Buḫārā twenty-eight days; and Faḍl-ibn-Mūsā talked it over with ʿAbdallāh ibn-Bāštū and others of our comrades,[18] who began to say:[19] "If we remain here, winter will set in and then we shall not be able to proceed. Āḥmad ibn-Mūsā can, however, join us if he follows after us."

(6) [This section is quoted by Yāqūt in his description of Chwārezm down to the end of paragraph 13.]

(14) f. 198b/ Our stay in Ǧurǧānīya was lengthy, that is, we stayed there some days of the month of Raǧab and during the whole

of Ša'bān, Ramaḍān and Šawwāl. Our long stay was brought about by the cold and its bitterness. Verily they told me that *two men took* twelve camels into one of the bottoms to get wood.[20] They forgot, however, to take flint and tinder with them, hence slept in the night without a fire; when they got up the next morning they found that all the camels had been frozen stiff from the cold. Verily, I beheld that the market-place and the streets were completely empty because of the cold. One could stroll through most of the streets and market-places without meeting anyone or without anyone meeting him. Once as I came out from the bath and when I came into the house and looked at my beard, I saw it was a lump of ice, so that I had to thaw it out before the fire. I stayed night and day in a house, which was inside of another house,[21] and in which a Turkish felt tent[22] was pitched, and I myself was wrapped up in clothes and fur rugs, but in spite of this, my cheeks often stuck to the cushion. I also indeed beheld f. 199a/ that the water-skins[23] in this country, lest they break and be split because of the cold, are wrapped around with sheepskin rugs, but this is of no avail. I saw that the earth, because of the extremity of the cold, forms great cracks[24] and that a large and ancient tree will split into two halves from this.

(15) About the middle of Šawwāl of the year 309 (middle of February, 922) the weather began to change, the river Ǧaiḥūn thawed, and we got ourselves the necessary things for the journey. We bought Turkish camels and had made, in view of the rivers which we would have to cross in the land of the Turks, skin boats out of camel hides.[25] We laid in a supply of bread, millet and salted meat for three months.[26] Our acquaintances among the inhabitants of the town directed us in laying in garments, and as much as was needed.[27] They depicted the matter in fearful colors and exaggerated the story. When we underwent this, it was far greater than what had been told to us.[28] Each of us put on a jacket, over that a coat, over that a tulúp, over that a burka, and a helmet of felt out of which only the two eyes *could* look, a simple pair of underdrawers and a lined pair, trousers over them and house shoes of kaymuḫt and over these also another pair of boots.[29] When one of us got on a camel, he could not move because of his clothes.

(16) The doctor of the law and the teacher and the pages who travelled with us from Baġdād parted from us, fearing to enter this country, so I, the Ambassador, his brother-in-law and two pages, Takīn and Bārs, proceeded.[30] On the day which we had fixed for

the start, I said to them, "O people, the page of the king of the Saqāliba is in your train. He has learned about all your affairs and the letters of the sulṭān which you have, and I have no doubt that the dispatch of 4000 musayyabī dinars is mentioned in it. You are going to a foreign king; he will demand this *money* of you." To this they replied, "Have no fear. He will be far from demanding it of us."[31] Then I warned them again and said, "But I know he will demand it of you," but they did not agree.

(17) The caravan was ready to start. We took into our service a guide from the inhabitants of Ǧurǧānīyā whose name was Qlawus.[32] Then trusting in the all-powerful and exalted God, and entrusting our fate to him, we started on Monday, the third of Dulqa'da of the year 309 (March 3, 922) from Ǧurǧānīyā. *This day* we stopped at the burg called Zamǧān: f. 199b/ that is, the gateway to the Turks. The next morning early we proceeded and halted at a station called Ǧīt.[33] There so much snow fell upon us that the camels plunged in it up to their knees; hence we remained in this station two days. Then we sped straight on into the land of the Turks without taking precautions and without meeting any-one in the barren and even steppe. We thus rode ten days meeting with many obstacles and difficulties, bitter cold and unbroken snow-storms, in comparison with which the cold in Chwārezm seemed like a summer day, so that we forgot all our previous *discomforts* and were about at the point of giving up the ghost. One day when we underwent most savage cold-*weather*, Takīn was riding next to me and along with him one of the Turks, who was talking to him in Turkish. Takīn laughed and said to me, "This Turk says to me, 'What will our Lord have of us? He is killing us with cold. If we knew what he wanted, we would let him have it.'" Then said I, "Tell him, He only wishes of you that you should say: 'There is no God save Allāh.'" The Turk laughed and answered, "If we knew it, we should."

(18) Then we came to a place where there is a large quantity of *ṭāǧ* wood and we halted in it. The caravan lit fires, warmed themselves, took off their clothes and spread them out to dry.[34]

(19) Then we set out again and rode every day from midnight until the time of the afternoon prayer (hastening more from mid-day on) and then halted. When we had ridden fifteen nights in this manner, we arrived at a large mountain where there were many *great* rocks. There are springs there which jet out from the rocks and the water *stays* in pools.[35]

(20) After we had crossed, we reached a Turkish tribe which are called the Oğuz. They are nomads and have houses of felt.[36] They stay *for a time* in one place and then travel on. One sees their dwellings placed here and there according to nomadic custom.[37] Although they lead a hard existence they are like asses gone astray. They have no religious bonds with God, nor do they have recourse to reason. They never pray, rather do they call their headmen lords. When one of them takes counsel with his chief about something he says, "O lord, what shall I do in this or the other matter?" Their undertakings are based upon counsel solely among themselves; when they come to an agreement on a matter and have decided to put it through, there comes one of the lowest and basest of them and disrupts their decision. I have heard how they enounce: "There is no God but Allāh and Muḥammad is the prophet of Allāh," so as to get close to any Moslems who come to them by these words, f. 200a/ but not because they believe it. When one of them has been dealt with unjustly or something happens to him that he cannot endure, he looks up to the sky and says, "Bir teñgri," that is, in Turkish, "By the one God" because "bir" means "one" in Turkish and "teñgri" is in the speech of the Turks "God." The Oğuz do not wash themselves either after defecation or micturition, nor do they bathe after ğanāba (seminal pollution) or on other occasions. They have nothing whatever to do with water, especially in winter.

(21) Their women veil themselves neither in the presence of their own men nor of others, nor does the woman cover any of her bodily *parts* in the presence of any person. One day we stopped off with one of them and were seated there. The man's wife was present. As we conversed, the woman uncovered her pudenda and scratched it, and we saw her *doing it*. Then we veiled our faces and said, "I beg God's pardon." Her husband laughed and said to the interpreter, "Tell them we uncover it in your presence so that you may see it and be abashed, but it is not to be attained. This, however, is better than when you cover it up and yet it is reachable." Adultery is unknown among them; but whomsoever they find by his conduct that he is an adulterer, they tear him in two. This comes about so: they bring together the branches of two trees, tie him to the branches and then let both trees go and *so the man* who was tied to *the trees* is torn in two.

(22) One of them said as he heard <my recitation>[38] from the Koran and found that this recitation was beautiful, he ap-

proached addressing the interpreter: "Tell him do not stop." One day this man said to me through the interpreter: "Ask this Arab if our God, mighty and glorious, has a wife?" I felt this an enormity[39] and uttered the formulae, "Subḥān Allāh," [("The praise of God")] and "Astaġfir Allāh," [("I beg God's pardon")]. And he praised God and begged his forgiveness, as I had done. This was the custom of the Turks: every time when a Turk hears a Moslem *pronounce the formulae of* Tasbīḥ and the Tahlīl,[40] he repeats them after him.

(23) Their marriage customs are as follows: One of them asks for the hand of a female *member* of another's family, whether his daughter or his sister or any other one of those over whom he has power, against so and so many garments from Chwārezm. When he pays it, he brings her *home*. The marriage price often consists of camels, pack-animals or other things; and no one can take a wife until he has fulfilled the obligation, on which he has come to an understanding with those who have power over her in regard to him. If, however, he has met it, then he comes without any ado, enters the abode where she is, takes her in the presence of her father, mother and brothers; these do not prevent him. If a man dies who has a wife and children, then the eldest of his sons takes her to wife if she is not his mother. f. 200b/.

(24) None of the merchants or other *Mohammedans* may perform in their presence the ablution after seminal pollution, except in the night when they do not see it, for they get angry and say, "This man wishes to put a spell on us for he is immersing himself in water," and they compel him to pay a fine.[41]

(25) None of the Mohammedans can enter their country until one of them has become his host, with whom he stays and for whom he brings garments from the lands of Islam and for his wife a kerchief and some pepper, millet, raisins and nuts. When *the Moslem* comes to his friend, the latter pitches a tent for him and brings him sheep in accordance with his (the Turk's) wealth, so that the Moslem himself may slaughter the sheep, for the Turks do not slaughter, but one of them beats the sheep on the head until it is dead.

Should any of the Moslems wish to travel further and aught happen to some of his camels and horses, or if he needs resources, he leaves *those incapacitated* with his Turkish friend, takes from him camels, pack-animals and provisions,[42] as much as he needs, and travels further. When he returns from where he went, he re-

turns his goods and gives back his camels and pack-animals. And in the same way, when a man stops off with a Turk whom he does not know, and he says to the Turk, "I am thy guest and I will have some of thy camels, horses and thy dirhems," he gives him what he wishes. If the merchant dies in that region and the caravans return, the Turk goes to meet them and says, "Where is my guest?" If they say, "He has died," then he stops the caravan and goes to the most prominent merchant whom he sees among the Moslems, opens his bales while he is looking, and takes of his dirhems, just the amount that he had claim upon the *deceased* merchant, without taking a grain more. In the same way, he takes *some* of the pack-animals and camels and he (the Turk) says, "That one [the dead man] was thy cousin; thou art chiefly obligated to pay his debts"; and if *the first merchant* has fled, *the Turk* does the same thing and tells him, "He is a Moslem just as thou art. Do thou take from him." If he does not encounter his Moslem guest on the caravan trail, then he asks a third one,[43] "Where is he?" If he receives an indication, he sets out to find him, journeying for days until he reaches him, takes away from him what he had of his property and also what he had presented to the *Moslem*.

(26) Also the following is a custom of the Turks. When he comes to Ġurğānīyā, he asks for his host and stays with him until he leaves. If, however, the Turk dies at his Moslem host's house; and if a caravan is travelling through, and his Moslem host is with it, the Turks kill him, saying, "Thou hast killed him. f. 201a/ in thy prison. Hadst thou not imprisoned him, he would not have died." In the same way, when *the Moslem* has *the Turk* drink strong drink, so that the Turk falls off a wall, they kill him for this *reason*. In case the Moslem host is not found in the caravan, they set upon the most prominent among them and kill him.

(27) The custom of pederasty is counted by the Turks as a terrible sin. There once came a man of the inhabitants of Chwārezm to stay with the clan of the Kudarkīn, the viceroy of the Turkish king. He stayed with his host for a time to buy sheep. The Turk had a beardless son, and the Chwārezmian sought unceasingly to lead him astray until he got him to consent to his will. In the meantime, the Turk came in and caught them in *flagrante delicto*. Then the Turk brought up the matter before the Kudarkīn and said to him, "Assemble the Turks." The Kudarkīn assembled them: once they had gathered, he said to the Turk: "Dost thou wish that I should pass a just or unjust sentence?" The Turk said,

"According to justice." He said, "Bring thy son here." He brought him. He said, "The verdict is he and the merchant should be killed together." The Turk was appalled because of this and said, "I will not give up my son." Thereupon the Kudarkīn said, "Then the merchant may ransom himself." He did it and paid the Turk for what he had done to his son with sheep and presented the Kudarkīn with 400 sheep because he had saved him *from trouble,* and left the land of the Turks.

(28) The first of their rulers and chiefs whom we met *was* the little Yanāl. He had become a convert to Islam, but they told him, "If thou acceptest Islam, then thou canst not be our chieftain." So he renounced Islam. When we got to the place where he was, he told us, "I shall not permit you to pass because verily this is something that we have never heard of and concerning which we never believed that it could be." We acted in a friendly manner with him until he gave in for a ḥaftān from Gurğān worth ten dirhems, a piece of pāi-tāf,[44] some loaves of bread, a handful of raisins and a hundred nuts. When we had given him this, he made obeisance. That is their custom; when one man honors another, he makes obeisance before him. Then Yanāl said, "If my houses were not off your road, I should also bring you sheep and grits."[45] Then he departed from us and we travelled on further.

(29) The next morning one of the Turks met us. He was ugly in figure, dirty in appearance, despicable in manner, and base in nature; we had gotten into a heavy rain. Then he said, "Halt." Then the whole caravan halted, which consisted of 3000 pack-animals and 5000 men.[46] Then he said, "No single one of you may proceed." We halted then in obedience to his command. Then we said to him, "We are friends of the Kudarkīn." He began f. 201b/ to laugh and said, "Who is the Kudarkīn? I defecate on his beard."[47] Then he said, "Bekend," that is, "bread" in the language of Chwārezm. Then I gave him a few sheets of bread.[48] He took them and said, "You may go further. I take pity upon you."

(30) He says: "If any *of the Turks* becomes sick and has female and male slaves, these look after him and no one of his family comes near him. They pitch a tent for him apart from the houses and he does not depart from it until he dies or gets well. If, however, he is a slave or a poor man, they leave him in the desert and go on their way."

(31) When one of their ***prominent*** men dies, they dig for him a great pit in the form of a **house and they** go to him, dress him

in a qurtaq with his belt and bow . . . . , put a drinking cup of wood in his hand with intoxicating drink in it and place in front of him a wooden vessel of intoxicating drink *(nabīd)*,[49] come with his entire possessions and put them with him in this house. Then they set him down in it also. They then build a house over him and make a kind of cupola out of mud.[50] Then they go at his horses in accordance with their number. They slaughter one- to two-hundred at the grave down to the last one.[50a] Then they eat their flesh down to the head, the hooves, the hide and the tail, for they hang these up on wooden poles[51] and say, "These are his steeds on which he rides to paradise." If he has killed any one and has been a hero then they carve statues out of wood in the number of those whom he has slain, place them upon his grave and say, "These are his pages who serve him in paradise." Sometimes they delay slaughtering the animals for a day or two and then an old man from among their great ones stirs[52] them up and says, "I have seen N.N., that is, the dead man, in my sleep and he said to me: 'Here thou seest me. My comrades have overtaken me and my feet were too weak to be able to follow them.[53] I cannot overtake them and so have remained alone.' In this case, the people go at his steeds, slaughter them and hang them up on his grave. After a day or two the same elder comes to them and says, "I have seen N.N. *in a dream* and he said, 'Inform my family and my comrades that I have overtaken those who have gone before me and that I have recovered from my toil.' "

(32) He says, "All the Turks pluck their beards with the exception of their moustaches. I once saw one of their old men who had pulled his beard out and only left a little of it under his chin and had wrapped a fleece[54] around so that when one looked at him from a distance, one could not doubt that it was a goat."

(33) f. 202a/ The ruler[55] of the Oğuz Turks is called Yabğū (Ybġwā). That is the name of the ruler and every one who rules over this tribe bears this name. His subordinate is called Kudarkīn and so each subordinate to a chieftain is called Kudarkīn.

(34) After leaving their district, we stopped with their army commander whose name was Etrek ibn-al-Qaṭağān.[56] He pitched Turkish tents for us and had us stay in them. He himself had a large establishment, servants and large dwellings. He drove in sheep for us that we might slaughter them, and put horses at our disposal for riding. He invited a crowd of his family and relatives and killed for them many sheep.[57] We had given them gifts of

garments, raisins, nuts, pepper and millet. I noticed his wife (she had been the wife of his father) take *some* meat, *sour* milk and something of what we had bestowed upon her and go out from the dwelling into the desert.[58] She dug a little trench and buried in it that which she had with her and spoke some words. I asked the interpreter, "What is she saying " He answered, "She says that this is a gift for al-Qaṭaġān, the father of Etrek, which the Arabs had made to him." In the evening I went with the interpreter to the chieftain while he was sitting in his tent. We had with us the letter of Nadīr al-Ḥuramī to him in which he proposed to him *conversion to* Islam and spoke glowingly of it to him and sent him fifty dinars, among which *were a number* of musayyabī dinars and further, three mitqāls of musk, red leather,[59] two suits from Merv out of which we cut two qurtaqs for him, then a pair of boots of red leather, a coat of brocade[60] and five coats of silk. There we handed him his gifts and presented his wife as well with a head-shawl and a ring.[61] Then I read him the letter. He said to the interpreter, "I will give you no *answer* until you return and I will write the sulṭān what my decision is." Then he took off the *coat* of brocade which he wore to don the garment of honor we have mentioned. Then I saw that the qurtaq which he had on underneath was fraying apart from dirt, for it is their custom that no one shall take off the garment which he wears on his body until it disintegrates. Verily he had pulled out his entire beard and also his moustache, so that he looked like a eunuch.

(35) And I have observed[62] that the Turks speak of him as their best horseman; and I in very truth saw one day when he raced with us[63] on his horse and as a goose flew over us how he strung his bow and then, guiding his horse under it, shot at it and brought it down.

(36) One day he sent for the leaders who were close to him, that is Ṭarḫān, Yanāl ...... and Yġlz (?).[64] The f. 202b/ Ṭarḫān was the most prominent and influential among them; he was crippled and blind and had a maimed hand. Then he said to them: "These are the messengers of the king of the Arabs to my father-in-law Almïš ibn-Šilkäy, and I should not let them pass without taking counsel with you." Then the Ṭarḫān spoke: "This is a matter that we have never yet seen and of which we have never yet heard. Never has the ambassador of the sulṭān travelled through *our country* since we and our ancestors have been here. My feeling is that the sulṭān is playing us a trick; these he has *really* sent to

the Ḫazars to stir them up against us. The best is to hew these ambassadors in twain and we shall take all that they have with them." Another of them said: "No, we should rather take what they have with them and leave them naked so that they may return thither *whence* they came." Another said, "No, we have captives with the king of the Ḫazars, so we ought to send these to ransom those." They kept discussing these matters among themselves for seven days, while we were in a situation *similar* to death, until they agreed to open the road and let us pass. We presented the Ṭarḫān as a garment of honor two ḫaftāns from Merv and two pieces of pai-tāf[65] and his comrades each a qurtaq and the same to the Yanāl. We gave them pepper, millet and some sheets of bread and they departed from us.

(37) And we travelled forth until we came to the river Baġindī.[66] There the people took their skin boats which had been made from camel's hide, spread them out and took the goods from the Turkish camels; and as *the boats* are round, they put *the goods* inside them till they spread out. Then they filled them up full with garments and wares. When each skin boat was full, a group of five, six or four men, more or less, sat in them. They took in their hands birchwood[67] and used it like oars and kept on rowing while the water carried the boat on down and it spun around until we got across. With regard to the horses and camels, they called to them and they came swimming across. And it is absolutely necessary that first of all a group of warriors with weapons should be transported across before any of the caravan crosses to form a vanguard for the people and a rearguard against the Baškirs, lest these make an attack upon the people as they cross. So we crossed the River Baġindī in the manner we have described. Then we crossed a river called the Ǧām also on the same skin boats. Then we crossed the river Ǧaḫš, then the Odil, then the Ardn, then the Wārš, then the Aḫtī, then the Wbnā; all these are big rivers.[68]

(38) Then we arrived at the Pečenegs. These had encamped by a still lake like the sea. They are dark-brown, f. 203a/ powerful and they shave their beards. They are poor in contrast to the Oġuz, for I saw people among the Oġuz who possessed 10,000 horses and 100,000 sheep. What the sheep mostly eat is *the grass* which is found among the snow. They paw with their hooves to seek the grass, and when they do not find it, they eat the snow and become extraordinarily fat. When the summer comes and they eat grass, then they get thinner. We remained a day with the Pečenegs.

(39) Then we started out and came to the river Ğayiḫ;[69] this is the largest, widest, swiftest that we saw. Verily I saw how a skin boat upset in it, so that those which were on it were drowned. Many from the company perished and a number of the camels and horses were drowned. We crossed this river only with difficulty. Then we went a few days further on and crossed the river Ğaḫā, then over the river Azḫn, then the Bāğāğ, then the Smūr, then the Knāl, then the Sūḫ, and then the river Kiğlū.[70]

(Paragraphs 40-43 describe the stay with the Baškirs and are quoted by Yāqūt.)

(43) f. 203b/ Then we left the land of the *Baškirs* and crossed the river Ğermsān, the the river Ūrn, then the river Ūrm, then the river Bābnāğ, then the river Wtīğ, then the river Nbāsnh, then the river Ğawšīn.[71] Between the rivers which we mentioned the distance is a journey of two, three, four days, more or less.

(With paragraph (44) begins the account of ibn-Faḍlān's stay in Bulğār, which is quoted *in extenso* by Yāqūt.)

III

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF IBN-FAḌLĀN

The first few lines seem to be a summary, though Yāqūt also read it; it may be that IF's text begins only with 'Aḥmad ibn-Faḍlān says.'

1) IFR: of the state of many of their affairs.

2) IFR: the letter of al-Ḥasan, the son of the Balṭawar. ZV adopts the reading of Yāqūt (Oxford MS.), and gives good reasons for taking Balṭawār as a mistake for, or a misreading of, Yilṭawār (an old Turkish title يلطوار = eltebar (ZV excursus 1b). Whether he is right in interpolating (1.9) 'Šālkāy' after *'son'* from Yāqūt is another question. ZV is probably right in maintaining that they are both personal names, and that Fraehn's Silko = Vasilko is a wrong vocalization encysting an incorrect guess.

3) In this matter] IFR: for him (у него).

4) *Everything* ... him] IFR: he received assent for what he asked; according to the text this should go after 'kings.'

5) commanded] IFR: chosen, called (призван).

6) for the expenses] IFR adds: But what reason there was for sending him all these riches. IFR does not translate the term سبب — ZV: 'wurden ... bestimmt.'

7) The phrase: 'and the ambassador ... Ḫuramī' is interpolated into the text from Yāqūt. With 'Ḫuramī' Yāqūt's excerpt ends.

8) were handed ... over to him] IFR: I handed over to him, a reading ZV admits is possible (p. 5, note 1).

9) So we started ... Baġdād] This phrase is taken from the text of Yāqūt. ZV has April 2, 921, but according to Wüstenfeld's tables June 21 is correct; so also IFR.

10) ZV: Ṣa'lūk; IFR: Su'lūk.

11) and met] + by chance: IFR.

12) IFR: Ḥammūwayh; ZV: Ḥammūya.

13) the burg] ZV: Herberge; IFR: rabāṭ. Rabāṭ in Turkestanī parlance is a fortified frontier post — hence the term adopted in the text.

14) chancellor] ZV: Kanzler; IFR: secretary.

15) the elder bulwark] IFR: шейх—опора; ZV: den vertrauenswürdigen Greis.

16) relay points] IFR: постоялым дворам; ZV: in den Einkehrshäusern; the term is the equivalent of the English mews.

17) whosoever meets him ... rank] IFR: so that whoever seizes him, let him detain him until our letter comes to him, which he should obey. ZV: wenn jemand (von den Beamten) ihn (den Aḥmad) antrifft, möge er ihn aufhalten — bis unser Brief zu ihm kommt, und ihn seinem Rang entsprechend behandeln. This rendering is based upon ZV's conjecture.

18) talked it over] ZV: besprach sich mit; IFR: came to an agreement with = сговорились.

19) began to say] IFR: стали говорить; ZV: sagten.

20) bottoms الغياض] IFR: из некоторых плавней; ZV: in einem der Wälder. We have used this term as it denotes a marshy wooded area.

21) house] ZV thinks this may be taken here as implying

dar — court, though he admits that the Chwāresmians even now pitch tents in the houses in winter (p. 15, n. 1).

22) tent] ZV has a long excursus on this (p. 118-122).

23) waterskins جباب] ZV and IFR: cisterns. This refers to a large skin bag for liquids, sewn together from two or more hides, not to the burdük (بُردوك), and not to a permanent structure (cf. IFR, n. 140).

24) cracks أودية] awdīya, *lit.* ravines (wadī); IFR: овраги ZV: Spalten. Perhaps 'clefts' would be a better equivalent.

25) skin boats السفر] ZV: Fellboote; IFR: дорожные мешки (*lit.* travelling sacks, i.e. panniers). ZV points out that these are the *gupsar* of Turkestan (p. 15, n. 4) The word means properly a round hide pannier for provisions, hence IFR's literal translations. It is worth noting that in Iraq the word which is here previously used for 'water skin' is employed for the coracle of the Tigris (*gubba*). The implication seems to be that the instrument is something whose expandible qualities stand in the foreground.

26) salted meat نمكسود] namaksūd: this is not merely dried meat, but flesh that has also been preserved with salt and condiments (ZV *ad. loc.*).

27) directed us ... as needed] ZV: schlugen vor, uns mit Kleidern vorrätig und hinreichend zu versorgen; IFR: we asked ... for assistance regarding clothing and in getting them in large quantity.

28) when we underwent ... told us] ZV: Als wir diese (übertriebene Schilderung) hörten, wurde unsere Vorstellung (von der Kälte) viel grösser als das, was uns erzählt wurde; IFR: when we saw it, it proved to be twice as bad as that which had been described to us. ZV thinks there is a gap in the text (p. 16, n. 2).

29) The articles of clothing enumerated in this passage are differently interpreted by the editors: 1) *qurtaq* jacket; russ. *kurtka.* 2) ḫaftān-kaftan—coat. 3) būstīn: the Russian *tulúp,* — a fur coat with the skin outside; IFR: *šuba,* a fur coat with the fur outside. Burka; ZV: Filzmantel; IFR: felt cap; ZV is probably right that *labāda* here means the Turkish *kepenek,* and not an undercap of felt, as in the west, more especially as the 6) *burnūs* here denotes the Turkish helmet-shaped cap (*qalansuā*); IFR here interprets otherwise in the ordinary sense. House shoes] so ZV; IFR: gaiters.

30) Bārs] here Fārs in MS. IFR: Fāris.

31) He will be far from demanding it of us] ZV: er wird es nicht von uns verlangen; IFR: about the same.

32) Qlawus] Should be read as Qlawuz قلوز ZV; MS. فلوس IFR: Falūs.

33) Ğit] ZV emends جيت from the MS. خبب ḫbb Ḫabab (not ḥbb as ZV says — the dot over the h is clear, as IFR notes, and retains this reading). Ğīt is a well-known place, and ZV's emendation is probably correct.

34) we halted in it. The caravan lit fires] IFR: I pulled it down and kindled a fire in the caravan (*sic!*).

35) There are springs ... in pools] ZV: Dort (sind) Bäche die von denen (den Felsen) herabfliessen, und das Wasser (unten) im Graben (stehenbleibt); IFR: on which (the mountain) there are springs, which burst out in digging for water. The passage is mutilated or corrupt.

36) of felt] IFR: of hair; ZV: aus Wolle.

37) dwellings placed here and there] i.e., not in a regular pattern, like the Kirghiz, as ZV points out *ad loc.*

38) (my recitation) is supplied by ZV.

39) I felt this an enormity] ZV: Ich fand diese Frage plump; IFR: But I was horrified at this.

40) Tasbīḥ: سبحان الله ; Tahlīl: لا اله الا الله

41) This man wishes to put a spell on us ...] Text is unclear.

42) There is some question as to how the word *māl* مال is to be translated: it can mean property in general (*bona*) as well as money, and should probably be understood in the former connotation where IFR is speaking of the Turks.

43) If he does not encounter ... then he asks a third] Unclear text; IFR: 'If (this, *i.e. the second*) Moslem does not agree to make good for his guest ...'

44) IFR reads پی باف pai-bāf for the MS. پی تاف pai-tāf. This means woven material, cloth (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*, Teheran 1317, v. 1, 269). IFR explains it as material woven on a special loom worked

by the feet. The word also occurs on p. 19, and evidently refers to material of good quality.

The spread of Islam in the steppes evidently ran along lines of commerce. Its penetration among the nomads was slow, as we can see from our text. The intermediaries in this matter were mostly the Chwārezmian merchants, who had brought over the Bulġārs to Islam, but the nomads were still heathen.

45) Grits] burrā 'بُرّا' This seems to be unground grain, perhaps wheat; cf. IFR: *ad. loc.* ZV: Geschenke, but millet is given as a gift on other occasions.

46) pack-animals] not necessarily horses, as ZV has it. دابة pl. دواب means both riding and pack-animals, according to Lane s.v.

47) defecate] so IFR and MS.; ZV: ich pfeife.

48) sheets of bread] IFR: flat cakes of bread (лепёшки хлеба): ZV: Brotlaibe. Here we have certainly to do with the sheet-bread of the Tatars (*lavaš*). Loaves could not be transported, but the thin sheets dry out and can be moistened again and softened.

49) *nabīd* appears to mean any intoxicating drink except wine.

50) cupola] 'قبّة' ; ZV· Kuppel; IFR: yurt.

50a) down to the last one] IFR: or one head.

51) hang them up] IFR: stretch them out, pointing out that it is the same expression as is used for crucifixion. Perhaps the implication is that the skins were stretched out on frames.

52) stirs] ZV: ermuntert فحثهم ; IFR: comes فيجيئهم.

53) were too weak] IFR: have cracked, emending the MS. شنت to 'شَقَقَتْ'.

54) fleece] būstīn; ZV: Pelz; IFR: шуба (cf. ante, note 29).

55) ruler] ZV: König; IFR: Tsar, ملك .

56) Etrek ibn Qaṭaġān] so ZV, putting a dot over the 'ain; IFR: Atrak ibn Quṭ'an, but ZV's vocalization and pointing sounds more correct.

57) relatives] ZV: Verwandten; IFR: sons of his uncle on his father's side.

58) desert] ZV: ins Freie.

59) red leather] IFR: complete skins, here and below.

60) brocade] ZV: leaves *dībāǧ* untranslated, saying that it is a generic term in this area covering numerous kinds of cloth; IFR: velvet (парча).

61) head-shawl] The garment here implied is the Tatar čadra (Pers. čādra: anglo-ind. chudder), a large thin cloth covering most of the body as well as the head; so IFR, and hence our translation; ZV: Kopftuch.

62) I have observed] ZV: ich habe gesehen, also IFR, but the root also means to perceive, as it evidently does here.

63) raced with us] ZV: er mit uns ein Wettreiten auf sein Pferd unternahm; IFR: rode with us.

64) ... and Yġlz (?)] The MS. is difficult to decipher here: in the gap ZV doubtfully proposes: 'the son of his son-in-law'; IFR: the son of Jabḫā, while the last word can also be read hġlz as IFR takes it.

65) pai-bāf] See above, note 44.

66) Baġindī] This should be read Yaġindī, according to ZV (P. 32, n. 3), and is the equivalent of the modern Žayïndī, a left affluent of the Ǧim (Emba), here Ǧām.

67) birchwood] IFR: white poplar, but ZV proves conclusively, we think, that this is the birch (excursus 73a). Wood must be taken here in the sense of branches or small trees, cut along the river-bank.

68) Ǧām] modern Ǧim, the Emba.

Ǧāḫš] modern Sagïr: IFR: Čāhaš.

Odil] modern Oyïl, Uyïl; IFR: Adal.

Ardn] IFR: Ardan. ZV: Probably the Žaqsibay.

Wārš] IFR: Wāriš; probably the modern Qaldagaytï.

Aḫtī] ZV: the Buldurtï or its tributary the Aššï-Say.

Wbnā] ZV thinks this word should be read وتبا Utbā, a left tributary of the Ural (Yayïq). If so, the caravan route diverged somewhat to the east from the straight line. This would make the lake at which the Pečenegs were encamped (par. 38) not the larger

Čalqar-Köl, which is to the south of the modern town of Ural'sk, but either the Žaltïr-Köl or the Sulï-Köl. It does not seem to us that this so improbable, as it means that the crossing of the Ural river was made further to the east of its southward bend to avoid any attacks (e.g. from the Ḫazars) from the south up the Ural.

69) Ġayiḫ] ZV discusses the various forms of the name (p. 34, n. 1)

70) Ġaḫā] ZV reads Ġaḫān, the modern Čağan (Čağan ?), a rgiht-hand (not left-hand, as ZV says) tributary of the Ural. In that case the Azḫn (Azḫan IFR) can only be the Talovka, which fixes the point at which the caravan crossed the watershed between the basins of the Ural and the Volga basins.

Bağāġ ZV — the modern Moča, an affluent of the Volga. The MS. reading has a final *'aïn,* but both ZV and IFR agree that a final superior dot must be added to make it a *ghain*. The rivers which are listed from here on are all affluents of the Volga on its eastern bank.

Smūr] the modern Samar or Samara.

Knāl] MS. كبال Kbāl — ZV: the modern Kinel.

Suḫ] the modern Soq.

Kiğlo] IFR reads كنجلو Kanğalū, though the *n* is uncertain in the MS. This form brings it closer to ZV's putative equivalent Qundurča, which is mentioned in the accounts of Timur's campaigns.

71) Ġermšā] the modern Čirimšān

Urn] the modern Urän.

Urm] the modern Urm or Urem.

Bābnāğ] the pointing of the characters is uncertain, but ZV is probably right in equating it with the modern Mayna.

Wtiġ] the modern Utka, a russified form of the native Udġa اودغا; so ZV on basis of data supplied by Kračkovskii.

Ġawšī] probably the Aqtay. As the town of Bulġār lies to the south of this river, the embassy probably went on to the Bulġār ruler while the latter was still at the winter pastures of the tribe, whom we now know from the complete text to have been still in the semi-nomadic state.

IV

The discovery of the text of IF has brought to the fore other questions of importance: 1) Have we here the complete text of IF? 2) Have we the text in its original form? 3) Can the textual tradition tell us anything more regarding the fate of the book? Direct answers to these problems cannot be given, but some indications of a solution are possible

The text has come down to us in a *Sammelhandschrift*, probably of the 11th century. This codex contains the geographical work of Ibn-Faqīh, the two relations of Abū-Dulaf and Ibn-Faḍlān. From implications in the text of Abū-Dulaf we infer that the two important personages to whom he dedicated his work were responsible for gathering together these geographical works in one volume. ZV makes it clear that Yāqūt also read the work in this collection. His codex contained at the end a couple of folia with the remainder of the description of the Ḫazars, which have obviously been lost from the Meŝhed MS. At some point Yāqūt found in his copy (perhaps at the beginning, but more probably at the end) a statement that IF had "told everything which had happened to him on his journey from Baġdād until he returned to that city." Yāqūt repeats this three times in the course of his work (ZV *Einl.* p. XIII). The later writers Aḥmad Ṭūsī (fl. 1173-1193) and Amīn Rāzi (scr. ca. 1593), who used IF directly and not via Yāqūt, also had it in this same version but with a somewhat differing text; whether this was better in places, as ZV thinks, is another question.

Now that we have the original text, we can determine exactly what Yāqūt added or left out. It is now clear that he took over a number of redactorial remarks from the earlier editors, and added to them some further ones of his own. In what did this earlier editorial work consist? As we worked through the text, we obtained a fairly definite impression. The *risāla* in its present form is obviously an epitome drawn from a fuller account in which the trip was described in detail, which presumably included further motivation of the embassy and of the diplomatic background, which ZV has very competently sketched (Einl. pp. XX-XXXII). The aim of the editors was to extract all the material which bore upon affairs in Chwārezm, and all the passages which illustrated the life and customs of the northern nomads. All the connections with Baġdād are very carefully soft-pedalled, which certainly would not

have been the case in the original narrative. We infer, therefore, that the editors were themselves inhabitants of Turkestan and had connections with the local administration there. To this redactorial activity we can attribute the recurring phrase قال ابن فضلان "Ibn Faḍlān said," which Yāqūt takes over (ZV, *Einl.* p. VIII, n. 2). If this chain of hypotheses is correctly linked, it would be a safe additional guess that the editorial work is to be assigned to the period before the fall of the Sāmānid dynasty, i.e., before 1001 A.D. It would also account for the laconic turn of the language, and for a certain foreign flavor, which would be difficult to account for in an inhabitant of Baġdād. The absence of any mention of the return trip is probably due to the fact that IF did not discuss in it any details in which the editors were interested (ZV *Einl.* p. XV).

We have endeavored to treat the geographical questions involved in the notes appended to the text. No large-scale maps of the area involved were available here, and the lack of permanent settlements along the route make the exact plotting of the route impossible, but the caravan seems to have followed an almost straight line from Ůrgenj to Bulġār. The middle point is fixed by the lake near which the Pečenegs camped and by the identification of the river Azḫn with the Talovka. All of the area traversed is open country devoid of obstacles (with the exception of the rivers) and at this time of the year would have been well-watered.

V

The chief importance of this new text from the standpoint of economics is the light which it throws upon the trade between Chwārezm and the Volga area. The importance and the scale of this traffic have long been manifest to those who are interested in the early relations between Europe and Asia, but hitherto no detailed data have been available upon which to calculate the volume of the commerce ,nor had we any indication as to the exact route followed between the two entrepôts. Now, however, fortune has favored us with the full account of an eye-witness, whose general reliability as a reporter is vouched for by the accuracy of his observations of the manners and customs of the tribes through whom he passed. Moreover, the data thus obtained come not from the period when this trade route was declining, but while commerce along it was still at its heigh

Let us accordingly endeavor to sum up the data afforded by the new find, taking into account the various angles just noted.

Imprimis we should note that the route followed by the caravan is in the main a straight line from Ğurğanīyā (Ūrgenj) northward. That this may have had some slight detours is possible, nay probable, but these cannot be calculated with any accuracy. We can, however, determine the general line of the march, though no points of the compass are indicated. The caravan route ran directly NE by N across the Ust-Ūrt plateau, keeping well to the east of the Ural river. The various streams are mentioned and most of them can be identified. The first stop, which may have been for some days, was at the settlement of the Oğuz. This, it should be noted, is south of the Yağindi (now Zayindi) river. The remaining series of rivers, before arriving at the Pečeneg encampment all flow into the Caspian or at least towards the Pečeneg encampment which evidently lay to the south of the present town of Ural'sk, probably at the Čelkif-Köl. This means that they reached the Ural river to the east of its 90° bend from W. to S. From then on, after some days journey, another river group is met. The Čağan (ms. Ğahā) is an affluent of the Ural, while the Azḥan, which ZV does not identify, is almost certainly the modern Talovka. This point marks the passage of the travellers from the watershed of the Ural to that of the Volga, since ZV is probably quite right in equating the Bāğāğ with the modern Moča. The remainder of the rivers, so far as they can be identified, are all affluents of the Volga. The route appears to have kept well to the east of this stream and only to have approached it near Bulğār itself. The total distance is about 1000 miles which makes an average (including stops and fordings) of ca. 15 mi. per day. ZV points out that the route evidently swings to the east to avoid any raids from the Ḫazars. This is quite correct, but there are one or two other points to be considered as having possibly influenced the route.

(1) The trip takes place in April at the time of the freshets, when water is available everywhere.

(2) The route leads through the main encampment of the Oğuz, where some parleying took place and some bakhshish changed hands. The same is true of the Pečenegs, who play only a minor role, being evidently a tag end of the powerful people whose main body was now far to westward, and also of the Baškirs, whose raids are feared. In travelling through an area inhabited by nomads it is advisable to contact the tribesmen, and not to try to by-pass them.

(3) To follow along the main rivers in the season of the freshets would have been inconvenient and dangerous. The Volga at this time of year overflows its low eastern bank far and wide, and the wet ground and mud would have been a serious hindrance especially to the camels. The same is probably true of the Ural in its lower course.

For the first time we have an indication of the size of the caravans which crossed the northern steppes. ZV thinks that the figure of 5000 men and 3000 animals is incorrect, and that the figrues should be transposed. We wonder if this is necessary: why should not a considerable number of the attendants have gone on foot, having a lift now and again, as one sees among the Arabs? In any event it is a sizable number of persons, and goes far to explain the large Chwārezmian colony at Bulġār, and throws a bright light on the coin deposits, and the location of the latter which, as far as Moslem coins are concerned, are confined almost wholly to Northern Russia.

Was this the only caravan which left Ürgenj for Bulġār? Pretty obviously it was the first one, but there is no indication that it was the only body of this sort which crossed the steppes that year, though there probably were not many if they were as large as this. The implication at certain points in the story seems to indicate that there was more than one. It is clear however that only one trip could be made per annum by a given group, as the round trip would take 70 + 70 + 30 days = 170 or 5½ mo. which would bring them back to Ürgenj about Sept. 15,

The chief type of goods transported by the caravan appears to have been textiles. We must not infer from the gifts made by the embassy to the Oğuz chieftains that the merchants carried camel-loads of show garments, but textiles, condiments and dried fruits seem to have been the main items.

VI

The rich material contained in the excursuses of Zeki Validi's edition should be of great interest to scholars in divers fields of knowledge, but to find anything in them is a major task. It seemed worth while therefore to give here a brief synopsis of the points covered arranged in classified form. The choice of categories has been dictated by the context of the text itself and follows no pre-

cise or logical pattern, but we trust that even so it will make some valuable material known and accessible.

Botany

13a. Deforestation near Ġrğanīyā had proceeded apace. The district had considerable wood in 923 (Saksaul Haloxylon Ammodendron Bungo, called ṭāğ in Turkish and Persian). A load of wood had cost from two to three dirhems (0.28 gr. of gold). In Yāqūt's day (1220) it cost three ruknī dinars, an increase of at least thirty times (8.46 gr. of gold).

73a. Two trees often confused in Arabic and Persian sources are the ḫadink-birch and the ḫulanğ-maple.

Clothing

15a. Bašlyq here means a high pointed cap.

15b. The Persian kaymuḫt is shagreen, Turkish "sağri" or "sadri," leather made out of the hide of the horse's rump.

15c. Clothing for cold weather.

38a. Use of the short and the long qurtaq among the Pečenegs.

60a. Qalansuā primarily denotes a high felt hat, but may also mean a flat one like a cap.

80a. Qurtaq of the Rūs was a quilted doublet, the old Norse kyrtil.

80b. Kisā, the coat of the Rūs, was the Norse nottal or skikkia.

84a. The Russian bathing customs.

89c. Trousers worn by the Rūs.

89d. Ḫaftān is a jacket.

89e. Sable caps among the Rūs.

Governmental

1b. The title of the Bulġār king is Yilṭavār, equals Elteber and signifies in Turkish terminology the kingdom of subordinate people. The manuscript reads "Blṭar." This title also discussed in 47a.

33a. Use of the title Yabġū among the Turks and other allied tribes.

34a. Meaning of title Sübäši.

62b. Fraternal succession in order of seniority among the Turks.

93c. Double kingship among the Turks.

93e. Influence of the Turks upon the Rūs.

94a. The Viceroy Chaqan-beh. This is probably the same office as that of Yuġruš under the Qarakhanids. He was the real ruler but also appointed by the Chaqan.

99a. The ruling house of the Ḫazars belonged to the clan of the Asena which had been the ruling dynasty of the first Turkish Khanate.

100a. Further discussion of the double kingships among the Turks (extensive).

Political

1f. Ḫazars in Mohammedan service.

5a. Connection between Baġdād and Chwārezm closer than we had realized. The bailiff of ibn-al-Furāt's estate could set the police in Iran on the alert.

Ethnographic

1a. Anhang: Ṣaqlab (plural Ṣaqāliba) are not Slavs but the non-Turkish tribes of the western steppes.

20a. "The lowest and commonest among the Turks" represents with fair accuracy the average, free nomad, and not a bandit or mendicant.

36a. Remains of the Oġuz in other areas. Relations between the Oġuz and the Ḫazars.

38b. Some of the Pečenegs had remained behind after the departure of the main body for the western steppes.

39b. The "poor" Pečenegs.

43a. Evidence for the Čeremis in the area south of the Kama.

50c. The Visu are the Весь *Vesj* of the Russian chronicles. Discussion of them and the Yura to the north of the Bulġārs in the government of Viatka. Chwārezmians = Basurmane in the Viatka area.

61a. Bulġārs in a half nomadic stage but at a relatively high level of culture.

70a. Number of Bulġārs 50,000 tents, 250,000 souls.

76a. Chwārezmians in Bulgaria. Khvalyn, Basurmanin originally generic terms for them. They had their women with them, hence it was a true colony. Survivals of them in the province of Viatka (cf. 50c).

78a. Bulġārs on the west bank of the Volga called Asgil. Name appears to be identical with the Čigil stem of western Turkestan and with the Székely of Transylvania.

Religious

28a. Islam and Christianity among the Oġuz.

31b. Balbal = Каменныя бабы among the Kök-Turks.

41a. 'Phallic' symbols among Oġuz = images of ancestors

42a. Divinities of Oġuz.

63a. Lightning and superstitions among Oġuz.

85c. Ξόανα of Rūs.

87a. Corpses to be kept distant from houses.

87b. Burning of corpses among Slavs, Turks and Finnish folk, as well as Germans.

89b. The old woman who kills the girl = Hölle; cf. the aged priestesses of the Cimbri, who slew the captives.

89f. Rūs buried dead in sitting position. Rūs believe souls of dead enemies follow them to next world, hence kill themselves when in danger of being captured.

89g. Burial furniture of Rūs.

89h. Music played when dead burned among the Rūs, also among Ḫazars.

90a. Paradise of Rūs is "fair and green."

90c. Sacrificed animals placed around the dead.

90d. Strangling as a method of sacrifice. Blood also shed among the Rūs, as the γραυς sticks a knife into the girl's ribs.

91a. Nearest relatives of deceased light the pyre.

91c. If smoke of pyre rises high, fate of deceased in next life will be happier.

92a. Funeral ship not shoved into stream, but burned on or by the land.

96a. Ḫazars bury dead kings in a stream. Probably a general custom originally, and widely spread among the northern nomads.

Customs

21a. Chastity of Turkish women.

21b. Adultery among Turks punished by death.

23b. Bride taken by force among Turks.

23e. Widow of father or brother married by son or next brother-in-law.

24a. Washing among Turks.

25a. Slaughter of animals among Turks without shedding of blood.

25b. "Just" Turks.

27a. Homosexuality common in Ḫorāsān but not among the nomads.

28b. Prostration among Turks and Bulġārs.

31a. Burial customs among the Turks.

32a. Beards plucked among the Oġuz.

34d. No washing of clothes among the Turks.

41a. No phallic cult among the Turks.

44b. Guests greeted with bread and salt.

44c. Prostration before King Almïš.

44d. Guest tent pitched for new arrivals.

45a. Strewing money over the king's robe.

45b. Reception of guests by the Turkish monarch.

46c. Thrones of Turk and Mongol rulers.

46d. Food only to be taken from king's hand.

46e. Small tables for eating.

60f. Gestures of respect among Bulġārs.

62a. Grandson adopted by grandfather.

63a. Fear of lightning.

64a. The nailing up of a lawbreaker in a box and hanging it on a tree probably derives from the custom of the placing of corpses on trees.

65a. Hats carried under the armpit. Hanging of the cleverest man of the Bulġārs is evidently the survival of a heathen custom

74a. Hunting among the Bulġārs.

76b. Burial customs.

81b. Tatooing among Norsemen.

82a. Brassières and rings of Norse women.

83a. Female slaves among Rūs.

84a. Long hair of Rūs. Hair washing and hand washing.

85a. Nabīḏ = beer.

86a. Sick Rūs left at a distance from house.

87a. Corpses of Rūs left at a distance from house.

87b. Cremation of corpses among the Rūs.

87c. Inheritance among the Rūs.

87d. Human sacrifice among the Rūs.

Topography

73b. Suwār and Saqsin the same place, the Sumerkent of John of Piano Carpini.

78a. The Asgil are the Bulġārs on the west bank of the Volga. The name is the same as the Čigil of Turkestan and the Székely of Hungary.

Kleinaltertümer

14a. Different types of Turkish tents and wagons.

61b. The tent of the Bulġār king.

81a. The Norse axe.

82a. Schalenspangen and Dosenspangen.

82b. Neck-rings.

82c. Glass beads.

90b. Tents of the Rūs.

Philology

1b. blṭwār=yilṭawār=elteber: old Turkish title of governor

1c. المس is probably to be read Almïš = Hungarian Almus, the father of Arpad.

1d. Šälkäy — a name still used among the Čuvaš.

4a. badirqa = escort.

29c. pekend = Chwārezmian word for bread.

40a. ZV agrees with B. Munkacsi that Baš-kir and Bul-ġār are fundamentally dialectical variations of the same compound form = five + (O)guz, 'five' being either *baš* or *biel.*

46b. Turkish terms for silk: dībāğ—brocade, and its wider significations in Central Asia.

50d. Name of the Volga written in the MS. اتل Atil. The vocalization Etīl is incorrect.

70b. Barangar = Mongol *barangar,* the right wing of an army: Turkish *on qol. Žuangar* is the left wing in Mongol, Turkish — *sol*

qol. This is the same word as in the name of the Ḫazar town Balanğar.

94e. The Kndr-ḫāqān or Knda-ḫāqān of the Ḫazars is clearly connected with the Hungarian title *Kündü* (Künda).

Persons

1g. Takīn al-Turkī of the embassy was a page and not Takīn al-Ḫazarī, the courtier of Muqtadir.

34c. Letter of Nadīr al-Ḫuramī to Sübäši Atrek. The latter was probably well-inclined towards the Moslems.

Marvels

49a. The sound of the northern lights.

50b. Short nights.

72b. Gog and Magog and the giant.

74b. Unicorn.

Script

72c. Writing among the Becb-Vīsū.

Varia

1h. Drugs sent to Bağdād.

Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye

Harvard University

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ORIENTAL STUDIES IN RUSSIA

Russia and Asia, edited by Wayne S. Vucinich, Stanford U. Press, 1972.

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Oriental Studies in Russia

If one were to divide the story of Oriental studies in Russia into parts or chapters, with an attempt at periodization, as Soviet scholars would call it, the following divisions might be proposed: 1) the pre-eighteenth century development of Russia; 2) the eighteenth century expansion into the Orient; 3) the period of Oriental institutes and Western superiority, 1804-ca. 1880; 4) missionary activity and *Kraevedenie* (or *Heimatkunde*), ca. 1880-1945; and finally 5) Orientals in expanded Oriental studies since 1945. These divisions may seem arbitrary, since they do not correspond to the traditional political divisions of Russian history; but they have a rationale and are, of course, not the only divisions one could make. We are discussing here, however, Oriental studies, not politics and economics; and the development of such studies in Russia need not correspond with other schemes of periodization.[2]

The first period of Oriental studies in Russia might be called the prehistory of development, before the time of Peter the Great. It is essential to bear in mind the outlines of early Russian history as a background for our subject under discussion. By the outlines of history, I do not mean the succession of princes and tsars, but the story of the peoples who composed the Russian state. It is generally agreed by historians that at the time of the Varangian expansion into Russia in the eighth and ninth centuries there were few Slavs to the north and east of present-day Moscow. Finno-Ugrian peoples, or Turkified natives such as the Bulgars, Bashkirs, Chu-

vash, and others along the Volga, occupied this vast area.[3] The steppes of the lower Volga, the Don, and the Dnieper rivers contained not only various Turkic-speaking tribes, but also settled Iranians, the leftovers from the Scythians and Sarmatians.[4] With the expansion of the Slavs to the east, not only was there a continuous contact with Oriental peoples and cultures, but there was a continuous absorption of them into the Russian people. Throughout Russian history many famous Russians have been non-Slavic in origin, some proud of this, others concealing it. The study of the Orient in Russia, therefore, has developed against this unique background, unparalled elsewhere in the world.

One may well believe that from the establishment of the first Rurikid state at Kiev, the Russian principalities had need of translators and persons acquainted with the Volga Bulgars, the Polovtsy or Cumans, and other peoples occupying the vast area east of the Ural Mountains and north of the Black Sea and the Caucasus. Although some Russians may have served in such capacities, it is more probable that Oriental merchants living in Kiev, Vladimir, or elsewhere supplied interpreters. The Mongol conquest, however, was a forerunner of change.

Many historians have attributed to the Mongols the responsibility for the backwardness of Russia vis-à-vis Western Europe, just as the Mongols have been charged with the decline of Persia and of the Islamic world in the eyes of many Persians and Arabs. Whether the Mongols really changed the course of Russian history, forcing the Russian princes to turn their attention to the East rather than to the West, is debatable, since from both the geographical and ethnic sides Russia was already bound to the Orient. Indeed, in pre-Christian times much of the religion and mythology of the eastern Slavs was borrowed from Iranians. Since the strong Iranian influence on the early eastern Slavs is well known, it need not be elaborated here.[5] The significance of all this background in the formation of Russian attitudes toward the Orient and the Orientals is difficult to assess. It is also difficult to believe that before the Mongol conquest the Russians had any conception or sentiments about their position between East and West. A *Busurman* (Muslim) from Ḳhwarizm or a *Nemets* from Germany was probably regarded with equal disdain in the Russian domain, one an eastern, the other a western, barbarian, in the Greek sense of bar-

barian. The spread of Christianity among the eastern Slavs, however, would seem to have laid a basis for future beliefs that Russia was different from, superior to, and opposed to the Orient.[6]

In spite of close contacts of the Russians with the Mongols and even with Mongolia, we have no Russian literature such as the travel accounts of Marco Polo, Giovanni de Piano Carpini, Hethum, King of Cilician Armenia, and others about the Mongols. Even the Golden Horde, which for long ruled over Russia, left only faint echoes in Russian literature. The reason, I believe, is twofold. First, the Russian literary output was miniscule compared with that of Western Europe, and infinitesimal compared with that of the Islamic world.[7] Second, the trade activity and contacts in the pre-Mongol period came from the East to the West, not vice versa. Merchants from distant Khwarizm and Bukhara could be found in Russian cities, whereas the only Russians in the Orient were probably prisoners-of-war or slaves. Nonetheless, as stated above, the Mongol conquest changed Russia and the passive relationship of Russia to the East to a more active phase.

It is commonly believed that the rule of the Golden Horde over Russia, ca. 1240-1480, isolated Russia from the West. Actually, in my opinion, it was during this period that Western Europe really discovered Muscovy, for this is the time of the movement of Western centers of commerce and industry from south to north. The Italian city-states had dominated trade with the Orient, and only in the Mediterranean world had centers of trade and crafts developed to any degree. But the Low Countries, England, and Germany began to expand their trade in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. We must not forget that the Russian cities of Pskov and Novgorod joined the Hanseatic League; hence Western European merchants and envoys came to Russia in greater numbers than previously. The expansion of the Ottoman Turks and their conquest of Constantinople in 1453 made the Russian route to the Orient more attractive than it had been. There were many Western Europeans, artisans, and others at the court of Ivan III of Moscow (1453-1505), and the number continued to grow. Therefore, although the Mongol yoke may be held responsible for many facets of life in Russia, such as Oriental protocol at the court of the tsars, the Russians were hardly cut off from the West by the Mongols.

With the political growth of Moscow there came also a cultural development and an interest in peoples to the east. The khanate of Kazan was absorbed by Moscow in 1552 and Astrakhan in 1556, which brought not only a large Oriental population inside the borders of Muscovy, but also another culture and civilization. Before this time, however, the tide of merchants and ambassadors from the Orient to Russia had already begun to shift, for Russians had been forced to go to Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde, to pay tribute; and some had even traveled to Karakorum in Mongolia. One of the most famous of the early Russian travelers was Afanasii N. Nikitin, who went as far as India on a trip lasting six years, from 1466 to 1472. Nikitin and later voyagers reacted much as did their Western European counterparts traveling to the Orient. For both, the peoples they met were infidels; and the church, which dominated learning in both Russia and Western Europe, fostered a hostile attitude toward Islam and Muslims. Other heathens, such as Buddhists, were too far away from Europe to be of much concern.

The post-Mongol period, to the time of Peter I, could be characterized as the period in which many Orthodox Russians had begun to develop an antagonism toward the heathens, mostly Muslims, but this had not reached the stage of a feeling of superiority against a backward foe. Any academic knowledge of Islam came more from translations from Western European languages than from first-hand contact with Muslims, even though the Tatars of the Volga were close at hand. The conquest of Astrakhan in 1556 brought Russia into contact with Persia, across the Caspian Sea, and with the khanates of Central Asia. In this area the Cossacks of the Yaik River, who caused great trouble for their neighbors, served as the military arm of Muscovy. Gradually, primarily because of the trips of Russian ambassadors to Persia and Central Asia, more became known about these parts. The Arab world and Turkey were distant and separated from Russia by the khanate of the Crimea.

The Russians conquered Siberia at a rapid pace. From 1581, when the Cossack Ataman Yermak started his operation, until the founding of Yakutsk in 1632, followed a short time later by the advance to the coast of the Pacific, there is a period of just two generations. Most of the area crossed by the hardy adventurers was

empty, and only the Tatars of the khanate of Sibir, the Buriat Mongols, and the Tungus tribes offered any resistance to this movement. The first ambassadors of T ır Alexis arrived in Peking in 1656, which marked the beginning of contacts with China; but until the time of Peter I the contacts were usually hostile and there was no permanent representation of Russia at Peking.

Thus, before the time of Peter I the Russian advance into the relatively empty regions of Siberia, as the advance into the vacuum of the Golden Horde area, the heritage of the conquest of the Kazan Tatars, failed to bring Russia into direct contact with one of the great Oriental powers or civilizations. But under Peter I contacts with China on the one hand and the Ottoman Empire and Persia on the other did bring Russia into direct relations with strong foreign powers. This changed Russian attitudes toward the Orient as it increased her knowledge of this part of the world.

The reign of Peter I marks a new era in the history of Russia symbolized by the founding of a new capital, St. Petersburg. In regard to Russia's relations with the Orient, however, the reign of Peter might be considered not so much as the culmination of the process of previous expansion, but as a high point in the self-realization of the Russians, or at least of some ruling Russians, that Russia was part of Europe, different from the Orient. For it is significant, I believe, that Peter was a tsar who, in his dealings with the Orient, behaved wholly as a Western European monarch. Before Peter I some Persian sources had called the Russians *Uzbek-i ferengi* (European Uzbeks), but Peter I altered the character of Russia so much that after him such a designation had become impossible.[8]

Although, on the whole, the Volga Tatars were serving as translators and middlemen for the Russians with Central Asia, the Caucasus, and even farther afield, Peter resolved to enlarge contacts with the Orient by establishing a more permanent means of obtaining information. In an *ukase* of 18 June 1700, Peter provided for two or three monks to go to China to study the Chinese and Mongolian languages. After they had learned the languages they were to continue to study the native religions and to propagate the Orthodox faith and to contribute to the political and commercial interests of Russia in the field.[9] The monks did not reach Peking until 1716, but this was the beginning of the perma-

nent Russian religious mission in the Chinese capital. An embassy was not opened until 1729, after the treaty of Kyakhta was concluded between the two powers on 14 June 1727. The Russian religious mission in Peking was active in scholarly work with such monks as Ioakinf Bichurin and others. Japanese studies were slower in formation. Several Japanese came to St. Petersburg in the time of Peter; but the teaching of Japanese on a regular basis was not established until 1736, when the Academy of Sciences was given the task of setting the program in motion.[10] Unfortunately, little was done in this domain until much later.

The activities in Oriental studies under Peter, as I have mentioned, were an essential part of his attempts to Westernize his country. Not only were Western Europeans invited to come to Russia, but Peter tried to understand the Orient in terms of Western Europe. The creation in 1725 of the Russian Academy of Sciences brought into being an institution that could serve as a center for developing Oriental studies. Before that time, however, Peter had founded his *Kabinet Redkostei* (Cabinet of Oddities), which was not only the first establishment in Russia for the investigation and study of the Orient, but also the basis on which the later *Aziatskii Muzei* was built. This institution was opened in 1818, a century later. In the Cabinet, Oriental manuscripts, coins, and art objects were collected for study. (Before the founding of the Academy of Sciences, Oriental studies had for the most part been pursued in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[11])

Activities in other directions during the time of Peter have a direct bearing on our discussion, since they indicate the extent of scholarly pursuits. In 1716, by order of Peter, the Koran was translated into Russian, not from the Arabic but from a mediocre French translation.[12] In the same year the Tsar sent five scholars to Persia with the Russian ambassador to study the Arabic, Turkish, and Persian languages. Furthermore, the conquests of Peter in the Caucasus gave impetus to the study of Near Eastern languages and cultures. The capture of Derbent on the Caspian in 1721 brought valuable Oriental manuscripts to St. Petersburg.[13] All these activities were carried on despite the fact that at the time there was hardly anyone in Russia qualified to work on the sources. Yet by his foresight Peter did provide rich materials for future research on the Orient.

Without seeking to detract from the immense significance of the reign of Peter for Russia, his ideas of scholarly work in the domain of Oriental studies seem to have been far ahead of those of his fellow countrymen. It is true that the founding of the Cabinet of Oddities and of the Academy of Sciences and the collection of manuscripts were very important for the future; but their influence in his day was negligible, at least as far as the development of Oriental studies is concerned. In 1722, when Peter returned from his Persian campaign, he visited the ruins of the city of Bulgar on the Volga and gave orders to restore certain remains and to copy the inscriptions on the site, primarily in the Tatar language.[14] In spite of the brilliant foundations laid by Peter, no further contributions were made by his immediate successors. It was not until the closing years of the eighteenth century that progress resumed. In 1742, in reply to a request for aid in the Tatar language, the Academy of Sciences declared that "not one person competent in Asiatic languages remained [in the Academy]," and the Academy was therefore unable to offer any help.[15] It is because of this lapse, after the time of Peter, that the next period of Oriental studies may be assigned to the Napoleonic age, which changed the face of the world in many ways.

This does not mean that all activity in Oriental studies in Russia during the remainder of the century came to a complete halt with the death of Peter. On the contrary, the war with the Ottoman Empire of 1735-39 and more particularly the wars of 1768-72 and 1787-92 did excite great interest in the Near East among the Russians. Not only did military and diplomatic contacts increase, but trade flourished, too.

In a survey of Oriental studies, the contributions of Mikhail Lomonosov (1711-65) and the founding of Moscow University in 1755 stand out. Already in 1733 a German Arabist, G. J. Kehr, who had been invited to St. Petersburg to teach in the School for the Foreign Ministry, had proposed the establishment in Russia of an academy or institute of Oriental languages. Kehr linked the creation of the academy with a plan for the Russian conquest of Turkey and Central Asia.[16] Whether Kehr had any influence on the Russian expedition in 1734-35 into the steppes east of the Urals is not known. One concrete result of that expedition, however, was the founding of the town of Orenburg, which became

the center of administration of the eastern steppes. Orenburg quickly took over from Astrakhan the role of making contacts, both diplomatic and commercial, with Central Asia. The movement of Russia toward the conquest of all the Central Asian khanates had begun.

Lomonosov had the same idea as Kehr, to create an Oriental academy, but again nothing came of his plan.[17] Even the great interest in Turkey aroused by the wars of Catherine the Great failed to persuade the authorities to establish a scholarly institute or a section of the Academy for the study of the Orient. Practical concerns, however, furnished a certain impetus not provided by academicians or scholars of St. Petersburg and Moscow. In 1744 a school of interpreters was created at Orenburg, and in 1759 a middle school or gymnasium was opened in Kazan wherein a plan was formulated to teach Oriental languages. It was not until a decade later, however, that the teaching of the Tatar language began there.[18]

The acquisition of the Crimea by Russia in 1783 and the incorporation of many new Muslim subjects into the empire of the tsars became a source of concern for St. Petersburg. The edict of religious toleration for Muslims and others promulgated in 1785 seems to have led to an expansion of Tatar influence and even of Islam in the following manner. The Russian government sought to introduce schools into the steppes, with the teachers, for the most part, coming from Kazan. In 1782 the government decreed that Arabic should be taught in schools where Muslims lived, and the Chinese language in Irkutsk and farther east.[19] While these measures did not in themselves lead to the advancement of Oriental studies in Russia, nevertheless they did create a milieu in which such studies could generate wide popular interest and involvement. The Tatars, of course, took advantage of the expansion of education to spread their influence to the south and east.

In 1790 the Koran was again translated into Russian from the French, and a third time in 1792 from the English. Attached to the translation of 1790 was a life of the "false prophet" Muhammad.[20] Other works of a polemical nature about Islam appeared also. These gave an indication of the anti-Muslim feeling among some Orthodox Russians—a feeling that was to grow considerably during the course of the nineteenth century. A detailed discussion

of the policies of the Russian government or of the Orthodox church toward the non-Christian religions in the empire, and especially toward Islam, would take us too far afield. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that such general attitudes on Islam as those exemplified by the views of the Orthodox church did exert an influence on the development of Oriental studies. Because of limitations of space, we can make only passing mention of some of the forces at work during this period. The expansion of Russia, the development of education among the Muslims, which was mainly in the hands of *mullahs* and others from the Kazan area, and the growth of the intelligentsia in both numbers and influence in St. Petersburg and Moscow, all helped to create a milieu in which Oriental studies were to flourish in the Russia of the nineteenth century.

All these activities are merely a prelude to the nineteenth century, when the scholarly and academic study of the Orient was put on a solid and permanent basis. Although attitudes of the earlier period did persist into the nineteenth century, we may speak of a new age even in Russia after the French Revolution and Napoleon. The nineteenth century in Russia was not only a period of development and growth, but it also saw the creation of new institutions and new attitudes toward Oriental studies. In Western Europe, especially in Germany, comparative philology of mostly Indo-European languages opened new vistas to the study of the Orient. Before this period, as we have seen, there was much activity in Russia in the practical study of Oriental languages for administrative and diplomatic purposes; but scientific or scholarly investigations were few and led to meager results since they usually came to an end with the passing of the individual who had undertaken them. Thus there were isolated sporadic bursts of activity, especially under Peter, but no solid basis on which to build for the future. Although detailed information is unavailable, it may very well be that the efforts to promote Oriental studies during Catherine's reign were aimed either at training translators and teachers in the Muslim areas or at preparing missionaries for the propagation of the Orthodox faith among the heathen.

We may take as a purely arbitrary date the fifth of November 1804 as a turning point in the development of Oriental studies in Russia, for the university constitution issued at that time provided

for instruction in this area. Shortly afterward chairs for Oriental studies were established at the universities of Moscow, Kazan, and Kharkov. Although there were no quick or startling results, this decree did provide for permanent organizations or professional chairs (*kafedra*) to train scholars in the disciplines necessary to the scholarly investigation of the Orient. Such activity could be carried out only in the universities, since the Academy of Sciences existed for research and not for teaching or preparation of successors.[21] Action was slow for many reasons, mainly the lack of qualified teachers; but at least the groundwork had been laid for the preparation of Orientalists who in the future could not only staff the universities, but also the Academy of Sciences, museums, and libraries, the primary organizations for the investigation of the Orient.

Kazan University with its surrounding Muslim population was the first to implement the decree. In 1807 a chair of Oriental languages was established primarily to teach Arabic and Persian. (Such a chair in Europe means much more than the equivalent in an American university, for in Europe it implies a library, assistants, and the like.) Although the Tatar language had been taught earlier, a chair of the Turco-Tatar language was not established in Kazan until 1828. There followed Mongolian in 1833, Chinese in 1837, Armenian in 1839, Sanskrit in 1842, and Manchurian in 1844, all of which combined to make Kazan the foremost university in Russia for the study of the Orient.[22] For many years there were very few students in these classes until the government undertook to train some of its officials there. For many reasons, however, Oriental studies other than those connected with the Muslim peoples did not flourish in Kazan; and in the 1850s the chairs of the Oriental section of the university were abolished.[23] Perhaps the main reason for the decline of Kazan as an academic center for the study of the Orient was the founding of a teacher's college and other schools for the local native inhabitants. These institutions seem to have been considered more important than the classical instruction in Oriental languages usually performed by German professors.

The place of Kazan was taken by St. Petersburg, where, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there existed the Academy of Sciences with the attached Asiatic Museum, but no university. The

Asiatic Museum had been brought into existence by a decree of S. S. Uvarov, president of the Academy of Sciences, on 11 November 1818. This decree provided for an Asiatic "Cabinet" to be installed on the first floor of Peter the Great's *Kunstkammer* on the Neva River. Oriental manuscripts, books, coins, archeological remains, and objects of ethnography were gathered there under the direction of the Academician and Orientalist C. M. Frähn (1781-1851).[24] All this material was fine for research but not for teaching. The actual teaching of Oriental languages in St. Petersburg was introduced in 1816 in a pedagogical institute, which in 1819 was transformed into the University. Two chairs were created, one for Arabic, the other for Persian; and in 1822 Turkish was added.[25] St. Petersburg University grew, as did its role in Oriental studies, until in October 1854 a special faculty of Oriental languages was established. This faculty, which became the center of Oriental studies in the empire of the tsars, soon outstripped all other centers in the land.

We come now to a discussion of the development of Oriental studies in Moscow. The situation here was unique. A beginning had been made according to the decree of 1804, and from 1811 until 1837 Arabic and Persian were taught in the university. An attempt was made to revive activity in the 1850s, but after a few years this was abandoned. The failure of the Oriental studies program in Moscow University has been attributed to the development of a competing institution—the Lazarev Institute.[26] This institution grew out of a private school, primarily for Armenians, called the Moscow Armenian Educational Institution of the Lazarevs. The first Oriental language taught there was, of course, Armenian, with Persian added a few years later. Although the name of the institution was changed at the end of 1827 to the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages, the program of the school was not altered; it remained a general high school where Oriental languages were taught.

In 1835 the aims of the school were set forth after it had acquired from the government a certain status as an educational institution of the second category.[27] The first of these aims was to prepare translators; and the second, to prepare teachers for all the other educational institutions of the Armenians, and to educate priests or other ecclesiastics for the Christian Gregorian faith.[28]

The interest of the government in the Institute is evidenced by its sending five south Caucasian students there in 1843 to prepare for service in the customs department. Later the Minister of Internal Affairs, Prince Aleksei Orlov, basing his argument "on the opinion of the Caucasus Committee [which dealt with problems of the union of the Transcaucasian lands with Russia], pointed out to the trustee(s) that the institute needed a basic reform to achieve the aims proposed by the government, to prepare, on the one side, officials for the Transcaucasus area, who knew the native languages well, and on the other side translators well acquainted with all languages current in Transcaucasia."[29] The Lazarev Institute thus became the instrument of the government training of officials for the Transcaucasian service.

Nor was trade with the Orient neglected. New regulations in 1848 gave the Lazarev Institute a higher government rating, that of first-class school, with the expanded aim of helping commercial enterprises. An eight-year course of study was created, the last two years of which were reserved for the study of Oriental languages. Thus the Institute, according to an announcement of the new program, sought to prepare students for entry into a university or directly into government service or into commerce. And not forgotten, above all, was the preparation of youths for service in the Armenian Gregorian faith.[30]

The Lazarev Institute, more than any other organization, embraced the full range of Russia's activities in the promotion of Oriental studies. Whereas Kazan, in the midst of a Tatar population, was obviously a special case, and St. Petersburg was a center of research, museums, libraries, and all the other facilities needed for the study of the past, conditions in Moscow seemed to be most favorable for the extension into the academic world of government aims and needs in the field of Oriental studies. In promoting training for officials the government may have been more able to secure cooperation from a private institution than from a public school or university. It is interesting to read between the lines about the controversy in 1852 between the Caucasian Committee and the Lazarev Institute. The committee wished to have its students freed from the necessity of studying Arabic, whereas the faculty of the Institute insisted on the scholarly goals of its institution. As is usual in such cases, the compromises that had to be

made satisfied few of the disputants. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not become involved in the controversy, since a school for training diplomats in practical foreign languages continued to exist throughout the nineteenth century; and the Ministry did not look to any of the academic centers of Oriental studies for aid. The Ministry of the Interior, and especially the Caucasian Committee, on the other hand, needed trained administrators, especially natives. It was only natural, therefore, that they should turn to a school in Moscow founded to teach Armenians. This accounts for the special role in the history of Oriental studies filled by the Lazarev Institute.

Because of the special circumstances of its creation, still another organization deserves mention, the Kyakhta school for the Chinese language. In 1832 Russian merchants joined together to create a school to teach the spoken Chinese language for practical usage. This institution flourished for a time, until the teaching of Chinese and Manchu under Russian government auspices was shifted to Peking. Although the Kyakhta school was closed in 1867, it did serve as an interesting experiment in private enterprise.[31]

Finally, we must examine another important facet of Russian interest in the Orient, the religious activity. In the academies and seminaries of the Orthodox church Hebrew and other Semitic languages were taught and studied. The preparation of missionaries, however, was undertaken considerably later. In 1855 a missionary section was created in the religious academy of Kazan for activities among the Tatars, the Mongol tribes, the Chuvash, and the Cheremiss. Not only languages but also the Islamic and Buddhist religions were studied. Kazan seems to have become the center for missionary work, for in 1873 a special commission of the Academy of Sciences in Kazan issued the *Missionerskii protivomusul'manskii sbornik* (the missionary anti-Muslim collection), a series that lasted to the Revolution. V. Rosen, the head of the Oriental faculty in St. Petersburg, attacked the missionary publication as antischolarly; and we find traces of the quarrel between the academics and the missionaries in writings on Islam during the second half of the nineteenth century.[32]

Nor did the Russian army and military academies neglect the practical teaching of Oriental languages for selected officers who might be needed. In Omsk a military school taught the Mongolian

and Tatar languages, while in Orenburg Arabic and Persian were taught, as well as Tatar.[33] The conquest of Central Asia, beginning with the occupation of Tashkent by the Russians in 1865, gave fresh impetus to Oriental studies because new administrators and officials were called for. Furthermore, an immense area of untold archeological and historical riches had been added to the empire that spurred investigations by Russian scholars. New manuscripts and art objects were added to the already world-famous collections of St. Petersburg. Russian Oriental studies were to blossom at the end of the nineteenth century; and in all aspects of this field Russia was to become the equal of any western European country in quality and far ahead in quantity.

The expansion of Russia into Turkestan was followed by an increasing number of Orientalists, primarily from Kazan. The Kazan ecclesiastical academy provided many teachers for schools opened in the territories newly acquired by Russia. Consequently the study of Islam as a religion was promoted there more than purely philological or historical studies. The leader of the Islamicists in Central Asia was N. P. Ostroumov (1846-1930), a graduate of the Kazan Academy, who lived in Tashkent from 1877 until the end of his life.[34] Others from Kazan followed his lead or were even more polemical against Islam, a heritage of their training in Kazan.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, Oriental studies in Russia followed different routes with little contact between the various organizations, schools, or even individuals. With the expansion of Russia into Central Asia and the pacification of the Caucasus, railroads provided easier communication; and there was a consequent centralization of government activities. Oriental studies matured along with other scholarly and cultural disciplines.

In the nineteenth century the establishment of the various institutes, chairs, and academies for Oriental studies laid the basis in Russia for Oriental studies in the Western European sense of the term. The word "European" may be taken as a key to this period, which was one of Russian military supremacy over Persia in two wars, leading to the loss by Persia of all of Transcaucasia to Russia, the acquisition by Russia of the delta of the Danube River after a war with Turkey ending in 1829, as well as the Russian conquest of Central Asia. Kars and Batum were secured from Turkey after a

war ending in 1878. By the nineteenth century the military, as well as the cultural and social, superiority of the Russians over Orientals seemed unquestioned in the eyes of most Russians. Even the Slavophiles, who opposed the pro-Westerners in tsarist Russia, maintained the superiority of Russia over the Orient. Hence the third period of Oriental studies in Russia I have called the age of Oriental institutes if one is thinking in terms of the many academies established; or the age of Western superiority, from the standpoint of the general sentiment then prevailing in Russia regarding the Orient. There were, however, romanticists in this period of the early nineteenth century who showed the way for the growth of what I have called *Heimatkunde* in the fourth period.

This is not the place to discuss in detail the rise of Romanticism in Russian literature and its intellectual ramifications in the nineteenth-century empire of the tsars. Ideas of such people as Rousseau, and later of Schelling, Hegel, and others, did of course exert some influence among the Russian intelligentsia; but whether the Western European Romanticist discovery of the Orient, as exemplified in Goethe's *West-Östlicher Diwan*, had any influence on Pushkin or on other Russian writers is questionable. Probably. Pushkin's visits to the Crimea and the Caucasus were enough to stir the imagination of the great poet to write such works as *Ruslan i Ludmilla*, the *Bakhchisaraiskii, Fontan*, and *Podrazhaniia Koranu* (Imitation of the Koran). It seems we may distinguish two movements among the Russian intellectuals concerned with the Orient, one group maintaining that the Oriental peoples were incapable of progress and thus inferior to Russians or Western Europeans, while the other followed a line of thought with echoes of the "noble savage" of Rousseau. One may conjecture that the influx into Russia of Christian Armenians and Georgians may have provided a leavening for the ideas of the latter group, since the Caucasian peoples were middlemen between Russians and Muslims. Furthermore, the ancestry of Pushkin was a decisive answer to any Russian who preached any racial or ethnic superiority of Russians over others.

We have mentioned in passing a number of German Orientalists who came to Russia in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but this would not give an adequate indication of the overwhelming influence of German scholarship on Russia. It is im-

possible here to discuss this influence which shaped the Russian learned academies, but more especially the universities and the teaching in them. For Oriental languages one of the most important figures in the introduction of ideas of teaching languages, as well as methods of research, was Friedrich Adelung (1768-1843), who was the director of the section on the teaching of Oriental languages at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg and an honorary member of the Academy of Sciences. His writings had a great influence throughout Russia on the literary and intellectual circles concerned with the Orient. The views of A. W. Schlegel, especially on India, also were very popular in Russia at the beginning of the nineteenth century; and his ideas were followed by many literary figures.

The real founder of scholarship in Near Eastern studies in Russia, however, was Christian M. Frähn, whom I have already mentioned, but the list of Orientalists who wrote important works or who had students is long indeed. The German influence on scholarship in Oriental studies was paralleled by the expansion of the tsarist empire into Central Asia and the Caucasus, where, like the British in India, Russian officers and civil servants acquired rich field experience that enabled them to contribute to Oriental studies. For instance, the works of A. N. Khanykov on the khanate of Bukhara (1843), and of the monk Ioakinf Bichurin on Chinese sources regarding the peoples of Central Asia (1851), are excellent examples of scholarly works by Russian authors who were "from the field" rather than trained in the libraries or classrooms of St. Petersburg. In the area of Oriental studies Russia enjoyed an advantage over other countries in the two-way direction of efforts, those from the field and those from the libraries. As a result of this combination, Oriental studies in Russia rose to world preeminence, a status she still enjoys to our day. While many of the foreigners in Russia were attacked in writing by Slavic chauvinists, advocates of Pan-Slavism, and the like, the Russian students of Frähn on the whole depended on him for his contributions to the development of Oriental studies in Russia. Not only did he help many students of the Orient, but also he developed a school of numismatics in Russia. His many writings in this field laid the basis for a Russian school of Oriental studies. He found a willing colleague in O. I. Senkovskii (1800-58), also known as Baron Brambeus from Vilna,

who became the head of the section on Arabic and Islam in the University of St. Petersburg from 1822 to 1847.

The fourth period of Oriental studies in Russia may seem to correspond to the Marxist designation as the capitalist and imperialist periods of Russian history; but this, if true, is purely fortuitous. It would seem, rather, as one Soviet author remarks, "unfortunately, a concrete, detailed periodization of the history of Russian Oriental studies during the time of the strengthening and development of capitalism in Russia (including its imperialist stage) has not been worked out."[35] One might rather regard the period from the last decades of the nineteenth century down to the Revolution as the separation of two tendencies in Oriental studies, neither of which was revolutionary, or materialist, or Marxist. One group was the "academic" Orientalists, who were sympathetic to, if not followers of, the earlier Romanticists. The pure academics found allies among those liberal thinkers who promoted ideas of *Heimatkunde*, or the need to promote as well as study the languages and cultures of the non-Russian peoples of the empire. The great specialist on Central Asia, V. V. Bartol'd, was a prime representative of this group. The more extreme supporters of the opposite camp fell in very well with those at the court of Tsar Alexander III (1881-94), who advocated a government policy of Russification and discrimination against minorities in the empire. Most of the students in the Lazarev Institute in Moscow and in St. Petersburg followed their professors in the first category, as we may gather from a letter by a professor in the Kazan Theological Academy, N. I. Il'minskii (1822-91), in the name of the famous conservative K. P. Pobedonostsev (1827-1907), written in 1884. "In my opinion, the students of the [faculty] of Oriental languages of Petersburg University and of Lazarev Institute are unsuited for our Asiatic areas, since they study the literature, history, and ethnography of the Asiatic peoples objectively, and carry to them their own sympathies. . .and they are unacquainted with alien [*inorodicheskii*] and missionary affairs."[36] The use of the term *inorodicheskii*, which is pejorative here, indicates the group to which Il'minskii belonged. The name of Pobedonostsev has become synonymous with reaction and ultraconservatism, not only for Soviet writers but even in prerevolutionary Russia and elsewhere in the world. There is no doubt that some intellectuals, including Orientalists, followed Pobedonostsev. Needless to say,

only the academic group continued to exist after the Revolution.

In a sense again Bartol'd is a symbol of the continuity of the prerevolutionary feeling of sympathy for the cultures of Oriental peoples with the new conditions of Soviet Russia. The academic prerevolutionary Orientalists such as Bartol'd, S. F. Ol'denburg (in Far Eastern studies), I. Iu. Krachkovskii (Arabistics), and F. I. Shcherbatskoi (Indology) continued in their positions after the Revolution. Although they are characterized by Soviet authors as apolitical, non-Marxist, hence reprehensible, still their achievements cannot be, and are not, denied by Soviet intellectuals. There were, of course, revolutionaries among the students of the Oriental institutes in pre-1917 Russia, as elsewhere; and much has been made of these early Bolsheviks and their contributions to Oriental studies. After the Revolution the two main centers of Oriental studies, Leningrad and Moscow, continued to exist, whereas the provincial centers, as well as the various tsarist military and religious schools and academies, either vanished or declined radically. The religious activities of tsarism were transformed into antireligious activities of the communists. Instead of missionary publications there now appeared atheist journals and books such as *Ateist* and *Bezbozhnik* (atheist). Likewise, the tsarist schools for the foreign service were revised but continued under the Soviets. Dialectical materialism and other communist subjects were, of course, introduced into the curricula everywhere, but it is interesting to observe the marked continuity of traditions in Oriental studies from the prerevolutionary period. Whatever the climate, scholarship was maintained under the most trying economic and physical conditions.

Perhaps the dominant characteristic of Oriental studies in the Soviet Union before the Second World War was the groping for Marxist guidelines, first for assessing, within the communist framework, the roles of tsarism and native revolts against tsarism; and second, for establishing the periodization of the past. Orientals were regarded with great sympathy, especially if they had been won over to communism; but they had neither the education nor the political sophistication requisite for managing themselves or for studying their own complicated history. Questions of Russification and the nationality problem were naturally much discussed during the pre-World War II period.

A great deal has been written about the Russification policy of

the Soviet government as it affected the various minority peoples of the U.S.S.R. Individual feelings about Russification may have contributed to the generally held picture of the Soviet government as forcing minorities to become Russianized. This position I would regard as completely untenable. A sinister policy of *divide et impera* has been attributed to Moscow every time an alphabet has been created or changed for the Uzbeks, the Tajiks, or others, as if Moscow really needed to divide in order to rule.[37] If little was done in the various republics to promote Oriental studies, it was simply because money was scarce and conditions were difficult for everyone during the period between the two wars. Russians were prominent in higher educational and research institutes of the various republics and areas only because they made up the majority of the trained and qualified personnel. All this was to change after World War II.

World War II, I believe, may be regarded as a more significant dividing line in Oriental studies than even World War I and the Revolution. After World War II two tendencies became clear. First the younger scholars were better trained than their predecessors and their number had greatly increased. Furthermore, the *Sturm und Drang* of the early Soviet and the Stalinist periods (the Stalinist influence was felt, of course, until his death but the writing on the wall had appeared earlier) had welded the survivors into a cohesive, cooperative body of scholars who enforced high standards of scholarship for their group above either membership in the party or other considerations. Communism was now taken for granted and performance was valued above words. In the second place, the republics of the U.S.S.R. had come of age, and new native scholars were competing with graduates of Leningrad and Moscow. Some native Russians might complain of special privileges shown Uzbeks, Tajiks, Buriat Mongols, or others in the greatly expanding Oriental studies in Moscow and in Leningrad, not to mention Tashkent, Baku, Tbilisi (Tiflis), and other areas; but such privileges were personal favors and were hardly based on the preeminence of any ethnic or linguistic group or on any overall policy.

The practical study of Oriental languages for radio, foreign service, or other governmental service continues in the U.S.S.R. but so does the study of classical or dead Oriental languages. Archeology flourishes as do modern history and economics. The polemics

directed against deviationists, such as those aimed at the "anti-Marxist" school of history of the Soviet historian Mikhail N. Pokrovskii (1868-1932), or at bourgeois Orientalists such as Krachkovskii and others, have now subsided, just as the antireligious propaganda is now stale. All this may be accounted for mainly because it is now difficult to find anti-Marxists in the U. S. S. R.[38] Whether the Soviet state foresaw or wished the growth in national feeling among Georgians, Armenians, Tajiks, Uzbeks, and others is debatable; but it does exist and flourishes on a cultural level. As far as politics, economics, or social feelings are concerned, the Soviet man or citizen is now, I believe, a reality. Knowledge of Russian is essential for any of the local peoples to advance in their professions or in their work. But it is also becoming important for Russians to learn Georgian, for example, if they expect to go far in the Georgian S.S.R. This is true, at least, for Oriental studies in the U.S.S.R.

At present Leningrad still maintains its lead as the center of the study of the classical Orient, whereas Moscow has become the Soviet center for the investigation of the contemporary Orient and Africa. Moscow's Branch of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia and Africa (formerly the Oriental Institute) of the Academy of Sciences is located in the old building that housed the Lazarev Institute. The Tashkent Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences is probably the third largest and most significant center in the U.S.S.R., while Tbilisi, with its Oriental Institute of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, comes next. The Armenian, Azerbaijan, Turkmen, Tajik, Kazakh and other republics and autonomous areas of the R.S.F.S.R. have Oriental institutes that produce many publications in local languages as well as in Russian. The flow of books has become a flood. Indeed, many Soviet savants instead of writing an article when they have a new idea prefer to survey the field and all past work on the subject before making their point. Since payment is usually made on the basis of the number of words or pages produced, obviously it is more profitable to write a book than an article. Needless to say, the great development of Oriental studies in the U.S.S.R. is thoroughly familiar to scholars everywhere in the world from Tokyo to Cambridge.

The greatest problem of the Soviet Orientalist is travel and access to foreign literature in his field, especially to unpublished

manuscript collections in the West such as those in the British Museum. A few have managed to go abroad: the Russians have participated in archeological excavations in Mongolia and in China, and have thereby continued an old tradition.[39] But in general, research and study abroad are possible only with great difficulty. If the Japanese scholar would like to go to Japan or the Arabist to Egypt to study for a year, he would almost have to join an aid mission or a road-building group or become an interpreter in the Soviet Embassy in the foreign country. Such subterfuges are rarely resorted to, however, because the scholar usually has to weigh the advantages to be gained against the time lost in performing daily chores not relevant to his primary concern. Offers of such special jobs with rewards, either in the form of money or in the opportunity they afford to live abroad, though few in number, obviously hold a certain attraction. With a bureaucratic incompetence typical the world over, a specialist in modern colloquial Egyptian Arabic may be sent to Baghdad for a year, or a Pashto specialist to Karachi rather than to Peshawar or to Afghanistan. Furthermore, a scholar known all over the world may, for numerous imagined or whimsical reasons justified on political or on security grounds, be refused permission to attend an international congress in London. But such is the nature of the ponderous bureaucracy that weighs on the backs of all in the U.S.S.R.

As everywhere else in the world, so in the U.S.S.R. the personalities of the various individual leaders of Oriental studies have contributed to shaping the development of these studies. I. A. Orbeli, director of the Hermitage Museum for more than two decades that spanned World War II, dean of the Oriental faculty of the University, and head of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences for several years, was the leading figure among Leningrad Orientalists. His classical training shaped his goal to keep the old Leningrad traditions alive and flourishing. In Moscow, the former secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikstan and friend of top Soviet officials, Babodzhan Gafurov, was able to expand the size and number of personnel in the former Lazarev Institute to unheard-of proportions. Modern and classical Oriental studies, as well as African, could flourish under Gafurov's regime since he could and did get things done. The bimonthly journal *Narody Azii i Afriki*, published in Moscow, is concerned primarily with

contemporary problems, whereas the *Kratkie Soobshcheniia Instituta Narodov Azii* is devoted largely to philology and history. Journals such as *Epigrafika Vostoka* and the *Palestinskii Sbornik* are devoted to more specialized studies. During recent years the number of Orientalist articles in the publications of the academies of sciences of the various republics has increased. All over the country there has been great activity.

It appears likely that in the foreseeable future both classical and contemporary Oriental studies will flourish in the U.S.S.R., for here, just as in the U.S.A., where moneys and grants are much more available for the study of the contemporary Orient, the power of appointment in the universities and in the research positions is still in the hands of the classical scholars or academics. Indeed it must remain there, for the future of scholarship in any country, under any system, must remain with the scholars. Otherwise, there will be no scholarship.

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SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY ON THE ISLAMIC ORIENT

B. Lewis, Ed., Historians of the Middle East London U. Press, 1864.

31. SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY ON THE ISLAMIC ORIENT

It is not my intention in this paper to repeat material which has appeared in the surveys of Soviet Oriental studies in Russian in recent years.[1] Some of these Soviet publications have been summarized in English, French or German and are readily accessible.[2] Nor is the purpose here a discussion of Marxist theory as it has been applied to Soviet historical writings. This is more the task of the student of Soviet culture who is thoroughly conversant with the changes in Soviet policy and the nuances in the application and interpretation of Marxism or Leninism in various fields of learning. Rather it is my hope to investigate one field of Islamic history in which Soviet scholars have made some significant contributions to knowledge, and to come to some general conclusions from a limited study. I wish to discuss briefly the history of Central Asia in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., as seen by Soviet Orientalists. They call this period 'the beginning of developed feudalism' in Central Asia. Some brief general remarks on the historical and methodological presuppositions of the Soviet scholars are necessary before proceeding.

At the outset one must recognize that Soviet Orientalists until recently have been little interested in the *history* of lands and peoples outside the Soviet Union. Histories of any Islamic peoples which have appeared have concentrated on Transcaucasia and Central Asia. I know of no history of the Umayyad or 'Abbasid caliphates, much less of the Fatimids, Islam in Spain, or the like. The best source of Soviet views on such subjects seems to be general world histories or articles in encyclopaedias published in the USSR. Unfortunately these are of little importance for the scholarly historian of the Islamic world. On the other hand, from them one may learn of the matters of interest and dispute among Soviet historians of the Orient, for example about one of the most important matters of dispute in recent years among Soviet scholars concerned with the Islamic world.

[1] Besides many articles there have been three volumes summarizing work in the Oriental area: . Yu. Kratchkovskii, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi arabistiki* (Moscow, 1950); the two-volume work *Ocherki po istorii russkogo Vostokovedeniya* (Moscow, 1953–6), and N. A. Smirnov, *Ocherki istorii izucheniya Islama v SSSR* (Moscow, 1954).

[2] The work of Smirnov has been summarized and studied in *The Central Asian Review* (1956) and by N. Elisséeff in *Mélanges Massignon* (Beirut, 1956). A general account of Soviet orientalists is found in H. Jablonowski, 'Die Geschichte Asiens in der Sovethistoriographie nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg', in *Saeculum* (1957), viii, 298–311.

This is the question whether the prophet Muḥammad grew up in a slave-holding or in a feudal society. Marxism teaches that the history of any people or society must be analysed into five general and consecutive periods: primitive society, slave-holding, feudal, and capitalist periods, with the fifth, of course, Marxist-socialist society. The tide has swung recently in the USSR to the position that Muḥammad rose to power in the feudal period of Arab history, but just at the time of change from the slave-holding period.

When we turn to internal Soviet history we have a great amount of writing, even concerning the history of the Samanids and Karakhanids in Central Asia. We may divide these writings into four groups: (1) the large, general histories of the USSR or of large areas of the world; (2) local histories of Uzbekistān, Tājikistān, and school textbooks of the same; (3) historical monographs on limited periods of the history of a republic, a district, or even a village; (4) detailed articles or books on art, archaeology, numismatics, and epigraphy. Books in the first category such as the *Survey of the history of the USSR*, published in 1956, give the overall orientation for history writing, and reveal changes in the 'line'. Publications of the second group are quite important because in them can be found both the latest results of work in categories three and four, plus the application of general ideas from category one to the local areas. In this group, characterized by books such as *The history of the Uzbek SSR* (second edition, Tashkent, 1955), and B. G. Gafurov, *History of the Tājīk nation* (Moscow, 1952), some documentation and bibliography lacking in the general histories may be found. These publications are usually the result of teamwork and serve as the authoritative 'college textbooks' on their subjects. The third group, above, is of most interest to historians of the Islamic world, for here we have research on manuscripts and archives producing special studies. Representative of such work are the books by N. V. Petrushevskii, *Survey of the history of feudal relations in Āẕarbāyjān and Armenia from the 16th to the Beginning of the 19th Centuries* (L. 1949), and A. K. Alizade, *Social-economic and political history of Āẕarbāyjān 13–14 cents.* (Baku, 1956). In the same category but of limited interest, though nonetheless important, are books such as S. A. Azimdzhanova, *On the history of Farghāna, 15th cent.* (Tashkent, 1957), and M. S. Andreev, *The Tājīks of the Khuf valley* (Stalinabad, 1953). In the fourth category we find the material for much of this paper. Here is a minimum of integration into large patterns of Marxist historical ideology, and here also is the research which is of greatest significance for the Orientalist and for the historian of Islam. The concern for somehow pragmatically justifying one's work within the Marxist interpretation of history is felt much less strongly in category four than even in three. Such publications as the journals *Oriental Epigraphy* and *Soviet Oriental Studies* contain many articles of prime interest for historians.

To illustrate this group, in art one may refer to the book by A. Yu. Yakubovskii, *The paintings of ancient Pandjikent* (Moscow, 1950), which is an art history of Sogdiana at the time of the Arab conquest with no apparent reference to Marxist doctrines. In archaeology, for example, the book on *The astronomical school of Ulug Beg* by T. N. Kary-Niyazov (Moscow, 1950) is an important contribution to the history of science as well as the cultural history of Samarqand under the Timurids. Numismatics, another sphere where Soviet scholars have made significant studies, will be elaborated below.

The history of the Samanids and Karakhanids has been elucidated by the numismatic work of A. A. Bykov, F. Davidovich, and the late F. Vasmer.[3] This is especially true of the Karakhanid rulers, for determination of their chronology and areas of rule depends to a great extent on their coinage since written sources are few and often contradictory. The Soviet Union with its large coin collections in the Hermitage Museum, in the Historical Museum in Moscow, and in Tashkent, is the only country where the coinage of the Karakhanids can be adequately studied. A revision of the list of rulers and the chronology of the Karakhanids in itself is not of great interest to a general assembly of historians. What is of importance, however, is first, new methods in numismatic history and, second, economic and social implications.

The Russians are the first to study in detail Islamic copper coinage. The reasons are understandable; in Western museums only silver and gold coins have been worthy of collection artistically and field archaeologists have been little interested in the usually poorly preserved copper coins. Western numismatists are few and usually have an enormous task of simply cataloguing coins with little time for economic or historical interpretations. One of the few articles in Western periodicals somewhat similar to Soviet work in this field is the article by R. P. Blake, 'The circulation of silver in the Moslem East down to the Mongol epoch', *HJAS*, 2 (1937), although Blake made little reference to actual coins. In the Soviet Union copper coins, 'the coinage of the masses' has stimulated field archaeologists in preserving and specialists later to study the great number of copper coins found on digs. Furthermore, one must remember that Marxist oriented scholars are interested in such basic source material for economic history.

What do the Soviet numismatic studies tell us about Samanid history?[4]

[3] For example, R. Vasmer, 'Die Münzkunde der Qarāhāniden', in *MSOS* (1930) xxxiii, 83–104. A. A. Bykov, 'A new hoard of copper Kufic coins from Tadzhikistan', in *Trudy Otdela numismatiki Gos. Ermitazha* (Leningrad, 1945), p. 1. E. A. Davidovich, 'Numismatic material for the history of the development of feudal conditions in Central Asia under the Samanids', in *Trudy Instituta Istorii, Akad. Nauk Tadzhikskoi SSR* (Stalinabad, 1954), xxvii, 69–117.

[4] M. E. Masson, 'On the Question of the Museiyabi "Black Dirhems" ', in *Trudy Instituta Istorii, Akad. Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Tashkent, 1955), vii, 174–96.

It is now quite clear from the coins that Transoxania was really 'the other side of the river' from *dār al-Khilāfa* throughout much of the 'Abbasid as well as all of the Umayyad period. It was never considered an integral part of the central domains. In the tenth century we find that the monetary policy of the Samanids was directed towards the establishment of an independent area of trade and commerce in Central Asia apart from the Caliphate even though the rulers professed loyalty to the Caliph. From the hoards of coins found in the Soviet Union numismatists have been able to trace the areas of coinage and currency of various monies such as the Ghiṭrifī, Muḥammadī, and Musayyabī *dirhams*, and the progressive debasement of these coins. Soviet numismatists have shown in their studies the longer persistence of local copper or billon coins, in pre-Islamic form, in Central Asia, while silver, which was used in international trade, was minted on the caliphal model. The latter coinage, of course, attracted the attention of Muslim authors more than the former.[5] It is significant that the Soviet studies are based primarily on statistical surveys of distribution by find spots and by mint years. Only in Soviet Central Asia have conditions permitted extensive studies of find spots and full information on hoards of coins. Consequently the results are based on new analyses of new material, surely of interest to numismatists everywhere.

This specialized material is always interpreted in a general framework and I wish to disgress here on the background to and interpretation of Samanid history. The *Survey of the history of the USSR* (p. 13) says, 'the authors have tried as much as possible to portray the history of the peoples of the USSR (giving to each its special features and contributions to general history). Dividing this material into independent sections, at the same time they have endeavoured to show the common conformity to laws of history by the Russian people and other peoples of our country. Also they have tried to show the historical (economic, political, and cultural) relations between the peoples to the extent which relations existed in the period of the early Middle Ages . . . The history of the peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus, from the ninth to the beginning of the thirteenth century, is a period of the development of feudal conditions, the aggravation of class differences, and the formation of a series of feudal states, as well as protracted struggles for independence.' Further we read (p. 497), 'in the sources on the history of Central Asia in this period, there is almost no information preserved about peasant uprisings against the secular and religious feudal lords'. And (p. 498), 'the historians, writing at the order of the rulers, and even themselves belonging to the highest stratum of feudal

[5] As Narshakhī says, 'Many copper coins were struck in Bukhārā by everyone of the Samanid dynasty, and of other rulers after the Samanids, but this has not been mentioned since there is nothing of interest in that.' Cf. *The history of Bukhara*, trans. R. N. Frye (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 37.

society, were little interested in the movements of peasants and did not record the facts about this phase of history, although there were undoubtedly many of them [peasant uprisings]'. The authors of the first edition of *The history of the Uzbek SSR* (published as *History of the peoples of Uzbekistan* in 1950), had followed the written sources too closely, for in the introduction to the second edition we read that the authors in the first edition had 'insufficiently elaborated the periodicization of Central Asian history, had idealized certain episodes, and had given unnecessarily detailed accounts of the struggles of certain feudal groups at the expense of the real history of the masses'. After discussing the Arab conquests and their colonial policy, the struggle for independence led by al-Ḥārith b. Surayj in 734 and the politics of Naṣr b. Sayyār, last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, are given considerable space. Naṣr, seeing the weakness of the Umayyad cause, tried to win over the local aristocracy, but it was too late. A mass movement had begun against the Umayyads and it was used by the 'Abbasids to consolidate their own power. The position of Abū Muslim is enigmatic for the Soviet scholars since he was a common man, but not concerned with the interests of the masses. He also did not hold to the aristocratic policy of al-Saffāḥ or to the people's party—the neo-Mazdakites or Khurramīs (Arabic *Muḥammira*). In any case the advent of the 'Abbasids weakened Arab rule in Central Asia. The anti-popular nature of 'Abbasid rule is revealed in the suppression of the popular Shi'ite revolt in Bukhārā against Abū Muslim, which was led by Sharīk b. Shaykh al-Mahrī. The further popular revolt of Muqanna' is connected with the pre-Islamic Mazdakite movement with a guarded idealization of both. The suppression of the anti-Arab or anti-caliphal revolts brings an end to the early feudal period of Central Asian history, and with the formation of the independent feudal kingdoms of the Tahirids and Samanids we are in the historical phase characterized by Soviet authors as the victory of the local aristocracy over the Arabs and the Caliphate.

To return to the coins, we find that the Samanids struck copper coins (*fals*), when they were nominally vassals of the Tahirids. Only the latter had the right to coin silver *dirhams*. The earliest Samanid *dirham* on record dates from 887, struck by Naṣr b. Aḥmad in Samarqand and preserved in the historical museum in Tashkent. From study of the copper coins Soviet scholars conclude that the Samanid kingdom was by no means a strong, centralized state. For the coins reveal that even the powerful founder of the dynasty Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad was not recognized as suzerain by his brother Isḥāq in Farghāna, while elsewhere in Central Asia allegiance to Ismā'īl was only nominal. The feudal forerunners of Seljuq *atabegs* and *iqṭā'* are found in the Samanid state.[6] By comparing the legends on the copper coins

[6] Perhaps one might also find Sogdian forerunners of the typical Central Asian theory of rule by *mamlūks* or slaves?

minted in such towns as Akhsikat, Shāsh, Isfījāb and elsewhere in Samanid domains the fortunes of the various branches of the Samanid family can be followed. From the beginning of Samanid rule when written sources tell us of strife between Ismā‘īl and his brother Naṣr, we find here the only indication of family divisions which the coins now help to clarify. Unfortunately the written sources tell us very little about the later consequences.

Essentially there were two factions in the Samanid family from the start, the group which supported Ismā‘īl and those who followed Naṣr. This division was of great importance in the assignment of feudal appanages, and played its part when Isḥāq revolted against his grand-nephew Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl after the latter became *amīr* in Bukhārā in A.D. 914. Many districts of the Samanid state merely paid a nominal tribute to the ruler in Bukhārā while still ruled by native princes, such as Khwārizm, Khuttalān, Isfījāb, and Naṣrābād, where a Turkish family held sway. In these cases the relations between the local princes and their overlord in Bukhārā were similar to those which bound the Samanid *amīrs* to Baghdād.

It is not the place to go into details about the genealogy of the Samanids who ruled in Farghāna, or the independent feudatories of Isfījāb; suffice it to say that the striking of silver *dirhams* on the caliphal model was the sign of revolt against the central authorities who alone had the right to coin in silver. Further researches by Soviet numismatists have further elaborated the thesis that Samanid silver *dirhams* were used as money, as well as goods for their silver content, in Eastern Europe (the Volga region). In China and East Turkestan, on the contrary, silver was not wanted and trade with merchants from the Samanid domains was on a barter basis.

There is, of course, much more to say about the Samanids, the rôle of Qarmaṭī propaganda in Central Asia, art and architecture, government, bureaucracy, and a host of other questions which have been studied by Soviet scholars. In regard to literature, I cannot refrain from quoting Gafurov (p. 162) regarding the formation of the New Persian language in Samanid territory, 'As a result [of the tendency of various peoples of Transoxiana to unite economically, politically, and culturally] the development of East Iranian dialects and languages, evidently on the basis of one of the dialects located in the territory where Sogdiana, Ṭukhāristān and Khurāsān adjoin, was to form the common language of the Tājīks, which at that time was called *Darī*.'[7]

The feudal state of the Tājīk Samanids ended and the Turkish state of the Karakhanids with an elaborate system of *iqṭā‘* with *iqṭā‘dārs* replaced

[7] My views on this subject have been expressed in a lecture in Persian given at the Pohani theatre, Kabul, under the auspices of the University of Kabul on 17 January 1958. It is published in the newspapers *Anīs* and *Islāḥ* with an English version in the journal *Afghanistan*. See also my article 'Die Wiedergeburt Persiens', in *Der Islam*, **35** (1960), 142.

it. The entrenched landed aristocracy, the *dihqāns*, gave way to feudatories of the Ilak Khans or Karakhanids. This did not mean, however, a replacing of the Iranian by a Turkish aristocracy, for the two were blended. As the authors of the *History of Uzbekistan* say (p. 238), 'It would be erroneous, as was done frequently in the historiography of Central Asia, to oppose Transoxania as the world of Sogdian settlers to Semirechie as the world of Turkish nomads.' Turkish elements in Soviet Central Asia can be traced back to pre-Islamic times and the growing preponderance of Turkish speech did not mean the suppression of the Tājīk language, but rather the mingling of the two to form the ancestors of the tongues of modern Uzbeks and Tājīks. This was already foreseen at the end of Samanid rule when the *dihqāns* and Turkish generals between themselves held the power in the state.

The Ghaznavid state finds little place in Soviet investigations. In the *Survey* (above, p. 506), we find the following, 'F. Engels in a letter to K. Marx, 6 June 1853, wrote the following, characterizing the features of Oriental states, "the state in the Orient always had only three divisions: (1) financial (for the plunder of their own population); (2) military (for plunder outside as well as inside the country); (3) office of public works (for building)". These words clearly characterize the Ghaznavid state.' The Karakhanids receive a much fuller treatment than the Ghaznavids. I say they receive a fuller treatment than one would expect from the information in the sources, but we still know little about the dynasty.

The Soviet scholars tell us about the family rule of the Karakhanids, with members of the family ruling various parts of the total domains. They also tell us (*History of Uzbekistan*, p. 256) that the Ilak Khans and the Turkish warrior aristocracy continued the tradition of the union which had been concluded between the Turkish guard under the Samanids and the most reactionary part of the Islamic clergy. Under the Karakhanids the authority of the *imāms*, *ṣayyids*, *shaykhs*, and *ṣadrs* stood at the highest point ever.' The economic crisis under Karakhanid rule (decline of silver, debasement of coinage, fall of prices with the break up of large estates) is an interesting subject discussed by Soviet scholars. Again the new material comes from the rich coin collections, but a new source has been added. This source is to become of supreme importance after the Timurids, but it also has a relevance to earlier times. This source is the archives of the towns, local *waqfs*, or the like. The best examples of such studies are the book by P. P. Ivanov, *The economy of the Juibar shaykhs* (of Bukhārā) (Moscow, 1954) and the articles by O. D. Chekovich in *Istoricheskie Zapiski*, 'A new collection of documents on the history of Uzbekistan' (1951), 'Regarding the archival material on the history of Bukhārā' (1945), and others. Although these documents are all from the post-Timurid period, they refer to events as far back as early Samanid rule. From these A. A.

Semenov, in his article, 'On the question of the origin of the Samanids', *Trudy Akad. Nauk Tadzhikskoi*, SSR, vol. 27 (Stalinabad, 1954), was able to show that the Samanids came from a village near Termez. His other work on local archives has been just as fruitful.

From this necessarily brief survey of certain Soviet publications on Central Asian history one may draw some general conclusions, especially after comparison with work on related subjects elsewhere in the world. I believe one may say in general that the technical competence of the Soviet scholars, especially when it is directed towards specific problems, is excellent. Articles on the meaning of terms such as *iqṭā'*, *shākir*, *dihqān*, and the like, have brought new source materials to their clarification, and have thus made distinct contributions to our knowledge. The problems posed by archaeology, in the excavation of a site, are usually dealt with in a competent manner by a host of specialists on pottery, numismatics, architecture, etc. The number of trained specialists in the Soviet Union working on such problems, not to mention other problems of linguistics and ethnography, is quite beyond the estimates of most non-Soviet scholars in the Oriental field. Linguistic studies on various dialects of the many languages of the Soviet Union are of a high calibre, and this is especially true of Turkish and Iranian languages.

The core of the Near East, however, the 'Fertile Crescent' and Egypt in ancient times and the Arab world with Islam in the Middle Ages, has been little touched by Soviet scholars. One reason for this, of course, is geography, but another, and most important, reason is the concern which the people of all the Near East have ever evinced for religion. The written sources, pre-Islamic as well as Islamic, are permeated with religious sentiment. Indeed, one can hardly study this part of the world without a sympathy for religion since it is ubiquitous. Consequently one wonders whether Soviet contributions to the history of this part of the world, including Central Asia and the Caucasus, other than the technically specialized work just mentioned, can be of value to scholarship. So far the general studies published in the Soviet Union, mentioned above, show a lack of understanding of not only the spiritual, but consequently the cultural and social, development of man in this part of the world. The rigid periodicity of history, as taught by the Marxists, must be viewed by historians with greater suspicion than the prophetic utterances of a Spengler or a Toynbee. In spite of this, the linguistic, archaeological, numismatic, and such, studies in the Soviet Union have made the Russian language a necessary scholarly tool for scholars working on Oriental history.[8]

[8] Another reason for reading Soviet works is given by Gafurov (p. 458): 'Bourgeois authors, restricted by their class tendencies and methodological helplessness, were not able to portray the course of the historical development of the peoples of Central Asia, and many of these authors were engaged in the direct falsification of history.' This not only refers to Western scholars but Russians such as W. Barthold and F. Rosenberg, according to Gafurov.

REPORT ON A TRIP TO IRAN IN THE SUMMER OF 1948

Oriens Vol. 2, 31. 12. 1949, Nr. 2

REPORT ON A TRIP TO IRAN IN THE SUMMER OF 1948 [1]

The first objective of my trip to Iran in the summer of 1948, was to gather information and printed material for the section on Iran of the forthcoming volume, *Turkey, Iran and the United States,* to be published by the Harvard University Press in their Political Handbook Series [2]. The second purpose of the trip was to secure squeezes and copies of the Middle Persian inscriptions at Persepolis, Shapur, and Sar Mašhad.

In addition I obtained films and copies of several Persian manuscripts and of the Mongolian fragments of the museum of antiquities in Tehran [3]. Photographs were also made of the Ming dynasty pottery, from the shrine of Shaiḫ Ṣāfī at Ardebil but now in the museum at Tehran [4]. Kodachromes of Persian gardens and historical monuments were taken at Tabriz, Tehran, Isfahan, Persepolis and Shiraz [5].

I left Ankara on Thursday, 24 June in an aeropiane of the Turkish Air Lines. Our route was Kayseri-Elazığ-Erzurum. From the air it was clear why the last named district had been a center of power of the nomads in the 14th and 15th centuries. The huge bowl, which was the valley of Erzurum, was covered with a carpet of green dotted with ponds of water. As we descended, much of the green seemed to be blades of grass thrusting themselves up from a sea; it was an extensive marsh. There was, however,

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[1] I wish to thank the Social Science Research Council and the Rockefeller Foundation for the grants which enabled me to make the trip to Iran.

[2] The volume on the Arab states was: E. Speiser, *The United States and the Near East* (Harvard, 1946).

[3] Professor F. W. Cleaves, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, is working on them. They will appear in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.*

[4] These were secured for John Pope of the Freer Art Gallery, Washington, D. C.

[5] This collection, some two-hundred scenes, is now in the department of landscape architecture at Harvard University.

no lack of solid ground as we discovered when we drove rapidly from the airport towards the eastern side of the valley where the town of Erzurum was located.

Erzurum

The town of Erzurum (Ancient Κάρανα, Armenian *Karin Kᶜaγakᶜ*, Arabic *qālī qalā*) is built on a slope of the mountains through which a road leads to the tableland of Aladağ, to the north of Lake Van. The town itself consists of a curious mixture of medieval and modern buildings, side by side. It is, and has been for decades, an important military center. I remained in Erzurum two days examining the ancient remains of the town while awaiting a bus to the frontier. The most impressive monument on the main street, is the Hundi Hatun *Medrese* with the *çifte minar*. It is now the headquarters of the local department of antiquities. The *Medrese* is a striking example of late Seljük architecture, although the original structure, which was replaced by the Seljük *Medrese,* is said to date from an earlier period [6]. A stylized double-headed eagle figures prominently among the stone decorations here and elsewhere on the historical monuments of Erzurum. Special permission was obtained to photograph the ancient remains.

In the interior of the *Medrese,* piles of potsherds and skeletons have been deposited from pre-historic and early historic excavations in the vicinity of Erzurum. The mausoleums of the Saltık oğullar, behind the *Medrese,* were also photographed [7]. Several attempts to secure squeezes of new Persian inscriptions, however, met with little cooperation on the part of the local populace.

The Turkish state bus to the frontier at Doğu Bayezit left at 9:00 a.m., 26 June exactly on the hour. We followed the Aras River to the pass over the mountains which led to the town of Aleşgirt. From the top of the pass there is a splendid view of Mt. Ararat (Ağrı Dağ), which from the west appears as a solitary white cone in the ever cloudless blue skies. At Aleşgirt and at the military center of Karaköşe, where we spent the night, I inquired in vain about Mongolian inscriptions on milestones which were reported to have been found in this vicinity [8]. The tableland of Aladağ

[6] From 962 A.D., according to Abdurrahim Şerif Beygu, *Erzurum* (Istanbul, 1946), 125-6, who gives further references.

[7] The Saltuqids of Erzurum, a branch of the Seljüks, ruled ca. 496-590/1102-1193. Little is known of them or their relations with the Seljüks of Konya.

had been the site of the summer quartters of the Mongol Il-ḫans of Persia, who erected palaces here.

At the frontier station, a few kilometers east of Doğu Bayezit, the five passengers, four Turkish citizens and myself, changed to a private Persian bus, and we reached Maku in the evening. The town is built on the side of a mountain between a gorge. Many of the houses are perched on ledges of rock after the fashion of the Pueblo dwellers of the southwestern United States. There are also many caves to be seen. Maku was an easy place to defend, and the key to the road below. The Ḫan of Maku was wont to levy tribute on passing caravans and extract a large fee from them for permission to pass through his domain in safety. I inquired from several quarters whether any Armenian or other historical inscriptions had been found in the caves, but was told that none had been reported. Maku has no hotel or guest house and the most modern building in town is the Soviet Consulate. We slept in the bus.

The following day we reached Khoi, an unimposing, new commercial center. From Khoi to Tabriz the road improved considerablyy. No ancient ruins were observed.

In Tabriz I interviewed a number of people concerning the events of the Azerbaijan crisis of 1946. Almost as many versions of the sequence of events were obtained as there were people asked. After some difficulty, color photos of the Blue Mosque and the *arg* were secured. Books and manuscripts in the bazars were few and of little interest, although prices were lower than in Tehran. The *MSS* collection of the University of Tabriz was small and insignificant but the Armenian center, where the archbishop resides, possessed a collection of old Armenian books and *MSS* which were of some interest.

The terrain between Tabriz and Mianeh, where the rail-road began, is quite rugged, and the completion of the railbed to Tabriz is still far in the future. The plain through which we travelled from Zanjan to Qazwīn, appeared to be well populated now, and it was so described in the Middle Ages. There were villages and ruins on both sides of the road. West of Qazwīn we reached an asphalt road which led us to Tehran.

The Libraries of Tehrān

Tehran has a number of important libraries, the most significant of which include the library of the University of Tehran (which, however, has only a small collection of *MSS*), and the library of the *Majlis, ca.*

30,000 volumes and 7,000 *MSS* [9]. In 194[illegible] library acquired the valuable Tabatabai collection of theology, law and [illegible]try, *ca.* 1,500 *MSS*. The library of the Sipāhsālār mosque, adjoining the *Majlis*, contains over 3,000 *MSS*, mostly on religious subjects [10]. The National Library, situated next to the Museum of Antiquities, has over 3,000 manuscripts [11]. In the bazar is located the private library of Malik with over 7,000 *MSS*. It was originally established as a *waqf* at Mašhad but is now in Tehran. The library of the Gulistan palace contains some 3,000 volumes. including *MSS*, uncatalogued.

In 1947 an Institut d'Iranologie was founded by the French government, with Henry Corbin as its director. It has a small library of 1,300 volumes, two film reading machines and film of about 120 *MSS*, principally on mysticism and philosophy. The Ritter system of cataloguing is being used. There is also a printing press, which has printed the first volume of the Bibliothèque Iranienne, published by Henry Corbin. This volume is the text of the *Kašf* al-*Maḥjūb*, Questions de philosophie ismaélienne, of Abū Yaᶜqūb Sejestanī (ob. 331/942). There will be two series: A. Textes and B. Etudes.

Old and Middle Persian studies are centered in the *Anjuman Irān Shinasī*, a private organization founded in 1947 and subsidized by Persian Zoroastrians. Professor Pour Daud and Dr. M. Moin are the most active members. They give the courses in Avestan and Pahlevi at the University of Tehran [12]. Another series of publications concerned with Iranian philology is the *Iran Kudeh*, Studies in Iranian Philology, of Muḥammad Moqaddam, professor at the University of Tehran.

The *Majlis* has recently given a sum of money to the prominent scholar Deh Ḫudā to complete a Persian Encyclopaedia in forty volumes. Volume one of the *Luyat Nāme* has appeared 1325/1947. Saīd Nafīsī is also engaged on the project of writing an encyclopaedia [13].

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[9] Y. Etessami, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans et arabes de la Bibliothèque du Madjless*, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1933) in Persian. This catalogue is quite incomplete.

[10] The catalogue of the Sipāhsālār mosque was published by Ibn Yūsuf Shīrāzī in two volumes, (Tehran, 1937, 1940).

[11] According to the director Dr. K. Bayani. There is no catalogue, but the catalogue of the *MSS* of the Public Library of the Ministry of Education arranged by Abdol-Aziz Javaher Kelam (Tehran, 1934) pertains to some of these *MSS*.

[12] The latest book of Dr. Moin was *L'Influence du Mazdeisme dans la Litterature Persane* (Tehran, 1948) in Persian.

[13] His latest work was an edition of the *Taᶜrīkh-i-Bayhaqī* with notes; volume three is now in the press.

Trip to Persepolis

I travelled to Isfahan by Persian bus and there photographed the *maidan*, Ali Qapu, the mosques, Čihil Situn and the bridges. In the Armenian museum in Julfa, a suburb of Isfahan, is one of the finest collections of old Armenian Printed books and manuscripts in the world, unfortunately uncatalogued. The adjoining church, built in the time of Shāh ᶜAbbās, is one of the best preserved examples of the architecture of the time. The wall paintings are especially noteworthy.

At Persepolis, besides many photographs, squeezes were secured of the following Middle Persian inscriptions: Two Parsik inscriptions on the window sill of the chamber of Darius; at Naqš-i-Rustam the Parsik, Pahlavik and Greek inscriptions on the Kaᶜbah of Zoroaster, and the inscriptions on the sculpture of Ardašīr Pāpakān at Naqš-i-Rajab. An unpublished inscription in cursive Pahlevi on a pillar by the museum at Persepolis was copied. ᶜAlī Murād, in charge of the museum, showed me the broken edge of a bowl which had been incised with cuneiform letters reading *Xšayāršā Xš vazraka* "Xerxes, Great King". The word divider after the ideogram for "king" has a different shape  from that which precedes the ideogram . This is unusual, but may be an error of the copyist. Another fragment appeared to be Elamite. I give a copy of the short fragment:



perhaps to be read: (ik) *še ir ša* I sunkuk *ir ša ir* I ? ? "Xerxes, Great King" - ?

Shapur and Sar Mašhad

Accompanied by the Rev. R. Sharp, pastor and builder of the Anglican church of Shiraz, and the Rev. and Mrs. Kenneth Oster, American missionary in Shiraz, I went by automobile to the village of Balā Deh south of Kazerun. There the automobile was unable to proceed further so I was left with squeeze paper, brush and sponge. I visited the *čahār ṭāq* of Jireh near the village of Balā Deh [14]. Muḥammad Ilānī of the village of Jidwal

[14] Cf. A. Godard, *Les quatre cahār-ṭāḳs de la vallée de Djerrè*, Athār-é-Īrān 3 (1938), 169-173.

Turkī secured two horses and a mule to make the trip over the mountains to Sar Mašhad. We left the village of Balā Deh about 4:00 p.m. and by continuous riding, or rather climbing and falling, arrived at the village of Sar Mašhad about 10:00 p.m.

The village of Sar Mašhad consisted of about ten families with their houses made of thorns. The entire encampment was surrounded by a wall of thorns with one entrance through which the goats and sheep were driven in the morning to graze outside. A spring of clear, warm water flowed by the village from a cleft in the rocks some 200 meters away, which was called Sar Češme. The existence of the spring was probably the principal reason for a settlement here from ancient times. On all sides of the village were ruins of buildings, evidences of a larger population in past centuries. The mountain side where the bas-relief of Bahram II was carved was only a short distance from the village. Photographs of the bas-relief have been published by Herzfeld [15]; the inscription, however, has never been published. It is approximately 5.28 meters long and 2.76 meters high. The bas-relief underneath is 4.65 meters long and 2.14 meters high. Part of the bas-relief, 2.6 meters of it, is under the left hand side of the inscription. The letters of the inscription are 3.5 centimeters high. Unfortunately the inscription is poorly preserved, but on the left hand side thirty-two lines are legible. A bank of weather-worn rock, about 80 centimeters wide, divides the inscription in the middle, where nothing is legible. The inscription had fifty-nine lines, not one of which is completely legible today. The first fourteen lines are a copy of the inscription of the *mobadān mobad* Kartīr on the Kaʿbah of Zoroaster at Naqš-i- Rustam [16]. Lines 53 to 59 are a copy of the inscription of the same Kartīr at Naqš-i-Rajab. Of special interest are several identical phrases in lines 42, 44, 50, 51, 52 where the words *Zy krtyr χnglpy* appear. I, at first, thought that this was the title of Kartīr, but further work on the inscription did not confirm this, and the interpretation is still much in doubt.

A question at once arises. Why should Kartīr, the *mobadān mobad* of Shapur I, Hormizd I and Bahram I and II, have carved similar inscriptions at Naqš-i-Rustam, Naqš-i-Rajab and Sar Mašhad? From the contents of the inscription there is little doubt as to the author. The importance of Naqš-i-Rustam and Naqš-i-Rajab in the ancient history of Iran is well

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[15] E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (Oxford, 1941) Plate cxxiii.

[16] Cf. M. Sprengling, *Kartīr, Founder of Sasanian Zoroastrianism,* The American Journal of Semitic Languages, 57 (1940), 197-228.

known, but what claim to fame has the isolated site of Sar Mašhad? The numerous ruins in the vicinity of the village do testify to the existence of a city here in Sasanian times. In a conversation, R. Ghirshman suggested that Sasanian bas-reliefs and inscriptions are invariably found near caves, either natural or man-made, and these caves were probably tombs of Sasanian monarchs or high dignitaries. Sar Mašhad does not prove the exception, for there is a cave in the mountain above the bas-relief. Is it possible that this was the grave of Bahram II, or of Kartīr himself? Perhaps this was the home town of Kartīr. The enigmatic figure of Kartīr, which has tantalized scholars of late, still remains shrouded in mystery[17]. Our knowledge of the events of Bahram II's reign is very meagre; and the bas-reliefs which this Sasanian monarch caused to be carved at various sites in Fārs only serve to complicate further the picture. Those at Barm-i-Dilak near Shiraz are especially curious. Kurt Erdmann writes of the scene of the investiture of the king at Barm-i-Dilak as follows[18]:

> „Eine rechts stehende Gestalt reicht ... dem König das Diadem ... Das ist an sich das alte Schema der Investitur zu Fusz. Aber die gebende Figur trägt eine hohe runde Kappe. Götter pflegen gekront zu sein. Kappen dieser Art tragen die Würdenträger. Unter ihnen hat der Groszmobedh, der Oberste der Magier, das Recht, den König zu krönen, nicht selten auch entscheidenden Einflusz auf seine Wahl. Von Bahram II. wird berichtet, dasz er durch die Vorhaltungen des Groszmobedhs veranlaszt wurde, seine anfangs tyrannische Regierung zu ändern. Aber dasz er sich darstellen liesz, wie er das Diadem aus den Händen eines Sterblichen entgegennimmt, ist doch kaum anzunehmen. Das wäre Verzicht auf das Gottesgnaden gewesen, es sei denn, zu seiner Zeit hätte sich der Groszmobedh die Rolle eines Stellvertreters Gottes auf Erden angemaszt, wofür aber keine Anhaltspunkte vorhanden sind. So bleibt der Inhalt des Reliefs dunkel."

The evidence of the bas-reliefs, coupled with the inscriptions, suggests that Kartīr *did* exercise greater power than anyone before him (excluding the king). It would not be too much to suppose that Kartīr did assume a position as representative of God on earth, able to transmit the power to rule to the king from God. I believe that we have here the turning point in the relations of the Zoroastrian church to the Sasanian state. From the

[17] Sprengling, *op. cit.*, Herzfeld in his *Archaeological History of Iran* (Oxford, 1935), and others.

[18] K. Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (Berlin, 1943), 59. Cf. Erdmann's article *Die sasanidischen Felsreliefs von Barm i Dilak*, ZDMG, 99 (1949), 50-57.

inscriptions of Kartīr, especially the best preserved one on the Kaʿbah of Zoroaster, we see his growing power under successive kings. In lines 17 and 18 of the Kaʿbah inscription Kartīr says [19]: "This inscription was written by me in order (lit. for the purpose) that whoever in the future sees the imperial records, documents or inscriptions, he shall know that I am Kartīr, who under Shapur, King of Kings, was dubbed Kartīr the *ehrpat*. Under Ohrmizd, King of Kings, and Varahrān, King of Kings, I was called Kartīr, Ahuramazda's mobad (*magupat*), and under Varahrān, King of Kings, Varahrān's son, I was named Kartīr, savior of the soul (*bāxt ruvān*) of Varahrān, Ahuramazda's mobad." Sprengling's theory that the grand mobads Tansar and Kartīr are identical, is interesting, but his suggestion that the names are corrupted forms of the same word is hardly tenable [20]. Much is unclear, but with the final publication of all of the inscriptions of Kartīr we may be able to discover more details of the religious and political situation of the time.

I have been unable to identify the site of Sar Mašhad among the towns and villages of Fārs, described by Islamic geographers and historians. Istaḫrī speaks of several villages in the district of Dašt-i-Bārīn in Fārs, one called Jūr and another Bar, where there was a spring of healthful water. The latter village might have been on the site of Sar Mašhad [21]. It is probable that the importance of the Sasanian town declined soon after the Muslim conquest.

On the return trip, following an easier route skirting the mountains, we passed extensive ruins of a city at the southern end of the valley in which Sar Mašhad is located. These ruins may be tentatively identified as the site of medieval *Ghundījan*, which lay to the west of Jireh. Another possibility is the town of *Fahlan*, which also lay to the west of Jireh [22].

From Balā Deh I returned to Kazerun and thence to Shapur. Here the bas-reliefs were photographed and squeezes were secured of the inscriptions of Apasay on a fallen pillar [23]. The following day I returned to Shiraz in an oil tanker over the spectacular passes of *Dukhtar* and *Pīr-i-zan*.

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[19] Sprengling, *op. cit.*, 227. I have used my copy of the inscription, with a few minor deviations from Sprengling in the translation.

[20] *Ibid.*, 215.

[21] *Iṣṭaḫri*, 152, 12.

[22] The exact location is unspecified, cf. K. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae* (Hamburg-Stuttgart, 1929), 3. Band, 3. Beiheft, Islam Atlas M 10 (Fars), Taf. 28.

[23] R. Ghirshman, *Inscription du monument de Chapour I à Chapour*, Revue des arts asiatiques 10 (1938), 123-129.

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The amazing road had been constructed by the Engineer Corps of the Indian Army in the first World War.

From Shīraz I returned to Tehran by air, and proceeded to work on the squeezes. I also found two informants from the desert area of Biyābānak, who spoke an archaic dialect. Their voices were recorded and notes were made on their dialect (cf. note at end).

Return to Persepolis

After extensive searching for many weeks in Tehran, I had to admit failure in locating a *ḫuš-navīs*, who would copy manuscripts. At the request of M. Mustafavī of the Museum of Antiquities, I gave a preliminary report of my trip to Sar Mašhad in the garden of the Museum.

The poor condition of the squeeze of the Greek inscription of the Kaᶜbah of Zoroaster, as well as my overlooking the important, but poorly preserved Aramaic inscription to the right of the tomb of Darius at Naqš-i-Rustam, led to a new expedition to Fārs.

I arrived in Shiraz on the last day of Ramazan, and experienced considerable difficulties in obtaining transportation to Persepolis. After a journey of ten hours in three different vehicles, I arrived at the foot of the grand staircase. At Persepolis I learned that vandals had chipped off several Greek and Pahlevi letters from the inscription of Shapur at Naqš-i-Rajab. In the Persepolis museum Zakat ᶜAlī, of the ethnographical museum of Tehran, was engaged in the preparation of a plaster model of all of the ruins of Persepolis and Naqš-i-Rustam. In a letter from him, received 5 January 1949, he reveals that the plan of the *tachara* of Darius, as reconstructed by Erich Schmidt, is to be revised. He also writes that he has reconstructed the plan of the palace of Artaxerxes for the first time. Faint graffiti of Hebrew and Pahlevi characters were found on the walls of the museum at Persepolis, but nothing could be made of them.

Squeezes were made and the next day I returned to Shiraz. All attempts to organize a new expedition to Sar Mašhad failed, and an attack of dysentary put an end to my hopes. Before leaving Shiraz I was able to collect a small Turkish vocabulary from the Qašqāī tribesmen in Shiraz. The following day I returned to Tehran and shortly thereafter to Istanbul.

Note on Fārvī, a Dialect of Biyābānak

A search of several weeks was necessary before I found two men in

Tehran from the district of Biyābānak, which is located in the Dašt-i-Kavīr to the north of Yazd. One of them, Kamāl ᶜAlavī, from the village of Farruḥ near Jandaq, was twenty-eight years old and had come to Tehran in 1937. He spoke a dialect which he called *Farvī*. The other Najm ud-Dīn Kāzarī, was thirty-three and had been in Tehran fifteen years. He was also from Farruḥ. They both confirmed the existence of three similar dialects in Biyābānak, Garmeyī, Khurī and Farvī. The only person who has made a study of the dialect of Khurī is Ivanow [24], but the difficulties of obtaining a consistent pronunciation are shown by Ivanow's transcription of a poem in the dialect of Khur in *Acta Orientalia* 8, (1930), 49:

Biu to men-e to äz del bidor shem
zi Samarkand-u Bukhoro dirtor shim
beshim äz hajiune haj afol begirim
ki deri gos-ä yo dirtor shim.

Come, let me and thee go away in anger,
Go further than Samarqand and Bukhara.
Let us go and ask the *ḥājjīs* (returning) from the *ḥajj*,
If it is enough or if we should go farther.

In his article on "Persian as Spoken in Birjand", *JRASB*, 24 (1928) 331, Ivanow transcribes the same poem:

Bio to mane tu az dil bedar shim
äz Samarqand-u Bukhoro durtär shim
berim az hajjiune haj ahwal begirim
ki duri bäs yo durtär shim.

One has great difficulties in recording the exact sounds of an informant, especially when the latter is uncertain himself as to the form of the words. I present here a résumé of the material collected. The verb N.P. ***dīdan*** "to see", is rendered as follows:

mā	dígina	"I see"
tā	dígini	etc.
āv	dígine (h)	
amo	díginum	
šəmā	díginät	
āvun	díginand	

mā	bídiya	"I saw"
tā	bídiyat	etc.
āv	bídiya	
—	— — —	
šəmā	bídiyetun	
āvun	bídiyayun (d)	

[24] W. Ivanow, *Two Dialects Spoken in the Central Persian Desert*, JRAS 1926, 405-431.

"I am going", etc. is rendered:

mā bíšeho
tā bíšehi
āv bíšehā
amo bíšehim
šəmā bíšehat or bišeyahat
āvun bíšehund

The greeting *ḫūš āmadīd* becomes *hāš âyehī* or *hāš âvəhī.*

āftāb γarūb "the sun has set" is *for šedu*
pädär-ät će guft is *pīyat čīye bigūt*
če mī-kunī is *čī keri*
če kärdīd is *čī etbekerde*

In this short vocabulary of Farvī the first word is literary Persian, *F* is Farvī and *K* is Khuri, according to Ivanow. I asked the Persian words and the informants replied in Farvī.

dīvār	"wall"	F — *ozār,*	K — *tiwol*	
ḫūk	"pig"	F — *pīn*		
rauγan	"oil"	F — *ravo*		
gušt	"meat"	F — *gišt*	K — *gišt,*	Wakhi — *γišt*
palang	"panther"	F — *piling*		
šagal	"jackal"	F — *tūvare(ḫ)*		
gurbeh	"cat"	F — *nazuk*		
gusfand-i-nar	"ram"	F — *toγolī*		
buz	"goat"	F — *pas*		
gusfand	"sheep"	F — *mij*		Pšt. *-mēž*
murγ	"chicken"	F — *niyaŋ*	K — *negang*	
mādar	"mother"	F — *mā*	K — *moy*	
duxtar	"daughter"	F — *dūwāhi* (δ)	K — *dut, düt*	
		Ormuri *dūa, dūw-a*		
χwāhar	"sister"	F — *fār*	K — *for*	Pšt. *χōr*
päsär	"son"	F — *pus*	K — *pus*	
pädär	"father"	F — *pī, pīya*	K — *pi, piyo*	
		Ormuri *-pē*		
zan	"woman"	F — *ǰi*	K — *zhen*	Phl. *ǰeh* "whore"
birādär	"brother"	F — *birá*	K — *bior, berodh*	
šekam	"stomach"	F — *suγ*	K — *suk, zuk*	

mūī	"hair"	F — *mīv*	K — *mi, miw*
rūī	"face"	F — *rī*	
rēš	"beard"	F — *rij*	K — *rej*
bīnī	"nose"	F — *nā*	K — *nok*
zabān	"tongue"	F — *hizūn*	K — *hizun* Av. — *hizū*
lab	"lip"	F — *lā(h)*	
angušt	"finger"	F — *penje* <"five", i.e. the hand	
nān	"bread"	F — *nun*	
ṣaγīr	"small"	F — *ispī*	
ḥunuk	"cold"	F — *hunäk*	Sang. *Xənək*
kuček	"small"	F — *kesu*	Av. *kasu*
buzurg	"large"	F — *kāte*	Shughni *katta*
talx	"butter"	F — *taxel*	
zūd	"swift"	F — *zī*	K — *zi* Jud. Pers. *zid*
injā	"here"	F — *elū*	
ānjā	"there"	F — *āje*	
otāq	"room"	F — *käye(h)*	
kitāb	"book"	F — *kitiyāv*	Sanglechi-*kitāv*
penjere	"window"	F — *dārīče*	
äyvān	"arch"	F — *piškan*	
aftāb	"sun"	F — *uftā*	
xuršīd	"sun"	F — *for*	K — *for*
āb	"water"	F — *ā(h)*	
diraxt-i-xurmā	"date palm"	F — *muγ*	K — *muk*
rūdxāne	"river"	F — *rixūne*	
farš	"carpet"	F — *səlās*	
zanbūr	"wasp"	F — *dänd*	
sabz	"green"	F — *saz*	
surx	"red"	F — *suwārxi*	K — *surkh*
sabuk	"light, easy"	F — *suwāk*	
jawāb	"answer"	F — *jevū*	
bače	"child"	F — *geči*	K — *gečo* Shughni-*γeδa*
kōlagān	"children"	F — *gečegūn*	
gandum	"wheat"	F — *gunəm*	K — *gunnom* Pšt.-γanəm
tamām	"completed"	F — *ajā*	
ṣubḥ	"morning"	F — *sabahī*	

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NOTES ON A TRIP TO THE BIYABANAK, SEISTAN AND BALUCHISTAN

Indo-Iranica, Volume six, October 1952, Number two.

NOTES ON A TRIP TO THE BIYABANAK, SEISTAN AND BALUCHISTAN

ON the 25th of Azar, 1330 (17th December, 1951) Professor Georges Redard of the University of Neuchatel, Switzerland, Murray Barry of Brown University, U.S.A., and I left Tehran to make an extensive trip to the Biyabanak, Seistan and Baluchistan. The purpose of the trip was manifold; Professor Redard and I wanted to study the dialects of the Biyabanak and the Baluchi dialects of Seistan, and Chahbahar on the coast of the Indian Ocean. We also hoped to visit the site of the Parthian inscription near Birjand copied by Jemal Rezayi, student of the Edebiyyat Faculty of the University of Tehran, and the famous ancient site of Kuh-i-Khwaja in Seistan. Furthermore we planned to go as far as Chahbahar in search of a Greek amphitheatre which was seen by a KLM pilot whose plane landed near Chahbahar during a storm in 1938. Since the Greek historians of Alexander the Great spoke of the presentation of plays to amuse his soldiers on their march back to Susa from India, there was nothing improbable in the discovery of a Greek amphitheatre in Baluchistan.

There are a great number of Iranian dialects of interest to the linguist. A list of them may be found in the introduction to the new edition of the *Burhān-i-Qāti'* by Dr. Muḥammad mo'in. Many of them have been studied, although some only from armchairs in Tehran. It was necessary to go into the field to obtain the best informants because residents of Tehran who had been born in Nain, Naṭanz or elsewhere frequently mix their dialect with Tehran slang, and also they forget their native dialect. Our first study was the dialect of Nain, which is similar to the dialect of Anarak but quite distinct from Naṭanzi to the north. Nain is on the edge of the Kavir desert and much lower in altitude than Naṭanz and Ardistan.

The dialect of Nain (and Anarak) extends as far east into the desert to the oasis of Chupanan, north as far as Ardistan and south to Ardakan where the dialect of Yezd supplants it. Nainī resembles closely the dialect of the Zoroastrians of Yezd and shows ancient survivals; e.g. *massih* مسیه "large" is *mas* مس in the Gabrī of Yezd as well as Avestan and Pahlevi. The word for son پسر which in Nainī is ره shows that Nainī is a northern dialect since the Parthian form of the word is puhr پهر as opposed to southern, Sas sanian, pus. پس The word for house is *kiyeh* کییه a cognate of *kade*h کده as in ***ateshkadeh***. The word for ***farsakh*** is much closer to the older form in Iranian.

It is easy to understand why the dialect of Nain should resemble Yezdi and also be practically identical with that of Anarak. Anarak is a comparatively new mining centre which lacks any means of support save the lead and copper in the nearby hills. It is a barren desert oasis with only one small spring of water and food must be brought from Nain or even from Isfahan. Nain lies at the bottom of a huge bowl and is very hot in the summer. Communications are easier to Yezd than to Isfahan over the mountains or to Naṭanz to the north. Hence geographically Nain belonged to the Yezd region. Only in 1951 was Nain separated from Yezd and made a *shahristan*. Because of the one automobile road the entire Biyabanak was removed from the jurisdiction of Yezd and placed under Nain. This entire region was once much more populated with Zoroastrians but the persecutions of Shah Sultan Ḥusain Ṣafavī caused a great decline in their numbers. Indeed, if it had not been for the Afghan invasion at that time the Zoroastrian centres of Ardakan and Yezd might have been wiped out.

In Anarak we recorded music on my tape recording machine and took notes on the local dialect. The country around Anarak is barren and desolate. What a surprise then when we drove over a hill, after crossing a difficult desert, and found before our eyes a paradise of green—the oasis of Chupanan. Chupanan was formerly only a well (چاه), and as such it is marked on all the maps. It had one building—a caravansarai on the road to Jandaq and Shahrud in Khurasan—fifty years ago. But then a *qanaat* was built and sweet water was found. People came from Anarak and from Khur and started to build a town. During World War I it suffered a setback as did all towns in this area from the raids of Naib Husain Kashī. Kashī came from Kashan with about 1,000 men and captured Anarak, Jandaq, Khur, and his men ravaged the countryside all the way to Tabbas. In Anarak only fifty people were left after his raid. Two years after his first invasion Kashī came again but this time the people of the area had help from Shahrud and elsewhere and Kashī was unable to capture Anarak or Jandaq.

The people of this area remembered the Baluchi raids in the time of the Kajars. In the time of Muḥammad Shah Kajar twelve Baluchi *yaghis* raided as far as Anarak and stole camels. A short time later 80 came again but this time the people of Anarak were ready for them. At Chāh Tāshak چاه تاشک they were surprised at night by Anaraki *tufangchis* who had caught up with them by forced marches. All of the Baluchis were killed except one captive who was taken to Tehran and executed. After this 400 Baluchis came for revenge and attacked Khur which they captured. The people of Khur furnished foot soldiers for the Kajars while the Anarakis furnished *tufangchis*. They united to fight the Baluchis but were defeated by the Baluchis at Kūh-i-Tashdaw کوه تشدو 3 farsakh from Khur. The last Baluchi raid was during the time of Reza

Shah Pahlavi when Malik Shah Khan raided with forty men but retreated without stealing anything.

The people of the Biyabank developed a system of fire signals to warn of approaching Baluchis. The first tower was at Ribat-i-Pusht-i-Pusht-i-Badam which sent the message by fire to Iraj ایرج . From the Iraj tower it was transmitted to Kalawor Khane کلاور خانه , and then to the mines at Nakhlak, and finally to Anarak. During the day smoke signals were used and fire at night. The Baluchis used to raid every year in the winter; those from Nehbandan were Shi'ites while those from Khash were Sunnis. I suspect that these Baluchi raids to the north preserve a memory of their former homeland in the minds of the Baluchis. For the Baluchi dialects are northern Iranian dialects closely related to Khuri, Farvī (the dialect of the oasis of Farrukhī) and others of the Biyabanak region.

The water of the *qanaat* of Chupanan is always warm, and the oasis produces barley, wheat, dates, grapes and *anar*. The people are enterprising and have conquered the desert, extending the cultivated area out into the desert. Near Chupanan there was formerly a *jangal*, but it was all cut down for fire wood. Enterprising *sardār* Ṭabatabaī hoped that it would be possible to plant trees again for he recognised their value.

Our next stop was Jandaq where we hoped to find an interesting dialect since Jandaq is the most northern of the oases of the Biyabanak, and, as we observed, the most isolated of them, being on the edge of the great *kavīr*. But we were surprised to find that at Jandaq the people only speak Farsi. This was a puzzle for dialects are spoken all around Jandaq —to the north in Semnan, to the south in Khur and Farrukhī, and to the west in Kashan, Naṭanz, and Anarak. I believe the answer to this lies in the fact that Jandaq was a place of exile تابیدگاه in old times. The people said it was a *tābīdgāh* in the time of Anushirwan, but I suspect it must have been in Safavi times because the Farsi of Jandaq seemed similar to that of Isfahan, the capital of the Safavis. The oldest part of Jandaq is the *qaleh*, which is very strong. There is a camel post to Damghan twice a month. The postman, Hajj Maḥmad, told us about ancient ruins about 7 farsakhs from Torud ترود , which may be the ruins of the ancient capital of the Parthians, Hecatompylos.

This is the only ancient capital which has not been found. The American archaeologist Schmidt thought that the present town of Damghan was the site of the ancient capital but he found no proof. Now it seems fairly certain that in ancient times the *kavir* did not extend as far north as it does today and the direct route from Rayy to the east, to Herat, did not go to the north, to Shahrud and Sabzawar, as it does to-day, but rather it went more directly to the east through what is now desert. Part of this old route still exists from Turbat-i-Haidari to Kishmar, but then it is lost in the desert. It is quite possible that the ruins of the Parthian capital may lie under the sand near the oasis of Torud.

We had great difficulty on crossing the kavir between Jandaq and Farrukhi. Farrukhi was an interesting oasis with a strange dialect. We noticed that the women and girls here wore a headdress like the Arabs, called *chepiye* چپیه in the dialect of Farvī, which is عقال *eqāl* in Persian. The local names of the oases of the Biyabanak:—Jandaq is called Ginde (گندە) in Farvi, Beyazeh (بیازه) or Biyabanak is Mefazak (میفزک). There are no antiquities in the area, only a rumour that at Deh-i-no ; some 6 kilometres south of Mihragān (مهرگان) there used to be an *ateshkadeh*. The conversion of the entire Biyabank area to Islam came in the time of Imam Reza, when missionaries came from Nain, Yezd, Semnan, and Tus. But the people were hostile to the Muslims and there was a battle in which the Iranians were defeated and consequently accepted Islam.

The chief occupation of Khur is working on products of the date palm, which is called *mog* in the local dialect. The trees produce dates once every two years during Farvardin. But the people make rope, clothes and baskets from the date palm; this is their livelihood. The oasis of Khur has three *qanaats* but the water is salty. Khur is not as old as Jarmaq, Jandaq and Mihrajan, but the entire area is certainly much older than the Islamic conquest. The late conversion to Islam is not surprising for we know now that the Arab conquest of Iran did not change the majority of the people from their old religion, but only the top classes who wished to share the rewards of becoming a Muslim. From the life of Shaik Kāzerūnī[1] we learn that in Fars in the fourth century of the Hegira Muslims were afraid to build a mosque for fear of the Zoroastrians who were in great majority.

I suspect that the Biyabanak, or at least the oasis of Farrukhi, provided a convenient winter retreat for the Arabs when they came to Iran. For the winter climate of the Iranian plateau was too cold for the Arabs and they looked for areas which reminded them of their homeland. The Biyabanak was one such area, and I wonder if it was not a centre of Arab control in Iran for it is centrally located with easy caravan routes to Khurasan, to Yezd and to the north.

At Beyazeh we found a manuscript in Arabic, dated the year 1003 of the Hegira, but copied on modern paper perhaps only forty years old. This *Jang-name* or *Waqf-name* tells how the Arabs came to the Biyabanak in the year 422 of the Hegira to convert the people. It further gives the conditions of peace established by the Arabs and the division of lands between Persians and Arabs. It also gives a list of the *imamzadehs* founded in the entire Biyabanak region.

From Khur we went to Riba-i-Pushti-Badam and then to Tabbas. On the very difficult road to Tabbas we passed a number of caravansarais built of stone like fortresses in the style of the Crusader castles of Syria and Cilicia (Turkey). These were certainly from the time of Shah 'Abbas, the great builder of caravansarais.

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۱ فردوس المرشدية في اسرار الصمدية ، استانبول ، مطبعة معارف ، ۱۹۴۳ ع

In Tabbas we found electric lights and shelter in the guest house of the famous Gulshan garden. Those who made the saying "go to Tun and Tabbas," meaning "go to hell" certainly made a mistake about Tabbas; this town is a beautiful oasis with oranges and dates, and most interesting and very enterprising population. The *arg* is very impressive, although now in ruins. The town has some very deep underground water tanks (*hauz*) and, although it becomes very hot in summer it has a wonderful climate in the winter. In Firdaus (former Tun) are the ruins of a structure called the Takht-i-Hulagu, possibly dating from Mongol times.

At Behdukht near Gunabad we visited the lovely new shrine of Salih ʻAli Shah, which we were later to compare with the shrine of Shaikh Niʻmatu'llāh in Mahan near Kirman. Near Birjand we visited the site of the Parthian relief and inscription carved on the rocks high upon a mountain peak. The relief shows a Parthian prince strangling a lion with his bare hands. This is the first inscription and relief found in Eastern Iran, and it probably dates from the time of the first Sassanid shah (اردشیر بابکان) .

On the road to Zabul, Seistan we passed a village called Hurmuk (هرمک) where the people are Brahuis speaking a language related to the Dravidian tongues of the Deccan, India, and completely distinct from Persian and Baluchi.

Seistan was a surprise just as the Biyabanak had been, for here we found green fields and water from the large Helmund river making the area very important with agricultural products sent even to Tehran.

In Seistan I visited the two dams being constructed on the Helmund river at Zahak and Duhuk, the village of Adimi on the edge of the the Hamun, and finally the famous ancient site of Kuh-i-Khwaja, a holy mountain mentioned in the Avesta. We were guests of the *reis-i-farhang*, and also of the ʻAlam family and Naṣr Khan Irani, chief of the Narui tribe, who was later killed in pre-election rioting in Zabul.

Seistan is a paradise for the archaeologist for there are *tepes* and ruined sites from all periods of history untouched by the spade of the digger. There is the story of a city under the waters of the Hamun called *shahr-i-Savor shah;* then there is the site of *shahr-i-sukhte,* where we stopped and found the entire ground covered with potsherds and even whole pots, some of very ancient manufacture. To travel to Kuh-i-Khwaja I went five farsakhs by horse and one by small boat called *tutin* in Seistan. We saw many water buffalo *en route* to the site. Kuh-i-Khwaja has a number of interesting ruins on it; the town is called *shahr-i-Kok,* built on the southern side of the mountain. On top of the mountain is the *qaleh-Kok-i-Kohzad* and to the west is a *kushk-i-chihil dukhtaran.* On the northern part of the mountain is an *imamzadeh* and the surface of the mountain is covered with graves dating from the Parthian to recent times. The most interesting feature of the ruins were the traces of gold and blue paint on the walls ot the ruins,

evidence of a pre-Islamic structure. The wall paintings were removed by the German archaeologist Herzfeld but unfortunately they have crumbled.

After Seistan we continued to Zahidan, Khash and Iranshahr. In the last town we studied the Baluchi dialect of Chahbahar and recorded music of the area. Then we returned by way of Bam, Māhān (ماهان), Kirman, Yezd, Isfahan, Shiraz, back to Isfahan, and then to Tehran, a trip of almost two months. We hope to publish several studies on this trip, one on the dialects and another a general account of the trip.

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PERSEPOLIS AGAIN

Journal of Near Eastern Studies,
vol. 33, 1974

THE discovery by Giuseppe and Ann Britt Tilia that two of the most finely worked and best preserved reliefs from Persepolis were taken in Achaemenid times from the central staircases of the Apadana into the Treasury at Persepolis is sensational.[1] The scene on both reliefs shows a great king sitting with a crown prince behind him, faced by a high Median officer. It has been assumed that the sitting king was Darius with his son Xerxes standing behind him. I propose to see in the scene instead Xerxes seated with his crown prince standing behind him. This would explain why the relief was removed to the treasury, probably by Artaxerxes I, who saw in the figure of the standing crown prince his brother Darius, the murderer of his father Xerxes, an eternal reminder of the turbulent events before his own accession to the throne.[2] The problem of identification which puzzled the Tilias is best resolved by supposing that the seated monarch is in fact Xerxes, which would fit the inscriptions on the Apadana which were carved during the reign of Xerxes.[3]

Technical observations made by the Tilias suggested, however, that the reliefs of soldiers which replaced the seated king-reliefs were of an inferior quality, perhaps dating from the end of the Achaemenid Empire.[4] It is fascinating to observe that the only other king of the dynasty, save the last Darius, who was not the crown prince but secured his throne by intrigue and murder, was Artaxerxes III. It is possible that he, rather than Artaxerxes I, ordered the reliefs removed to the treasury. For it would not have been pleasant for him to regard the reliefs in their original places on the Apadana, and be reminded of the way he had come to power.[5] Whether it was Artaxerxes I or Artaxerxes III who had the reliefs removed, I believe that the fine reliefs were moved to the treasury primarily because of personal rather than religious motives. On the other hand, I believe the Tilias were right in suggesting a change in the function of Persepolis from the time of Darius to the time of Artaxerxes III, except I would stress less the change in the nature of the site (perhaps the result of religious changes), and stress simply two factors: first, Persepolis lost the favored position it had as a summer residence and capital during the reigns of Darius and Xerxes, and during the early part of the reign of Artaxerxes I became a provincial Versailles; second, perhaps as a result of this, Persepolis, rather than Naqsh-i Rustam, became the resting place of the bodies of the late Achaemenid kings. This, I suggest, indicated that Persepolis itself had become a shrine rather than a capital. This change seems to have taken place under Artaxerxes I.

[1] A. B. Tilia, *Studies and Restoration at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs* (Rome, 1972), pp. 191–208.

[2] It is, of course, conceivable that the reliefs were made by Darius, to represent himself and Xerxes, but the king and crown prince motif would have been, if not anathema, at least painful to a later prince who was not the crown prince, yet who acceded to the throne.

[3] Tilia, *Studies and Restoration at Persepolis*, p. 201.

[4] Ibid., pp. 206–7. The degeneration of style in the reliefs at Persepolis is put as early as the time of Artaxerxes I, however, by Cleta M. Olmstead, in her father's book, A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948), p. 352.

[5] On the events see A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 424.

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The above suggestions do not contradict the possibility that the ceremony in Persepolis, consisting of processions and receptions, may have been changed by Artaxerxes I, making the existence of reliefs of the king and crown prince on the Apadana anomalous and no longer appropriate; therefore the reliefs were removed to the treasury. The unfinished stonework on the Gate of All Nations may also point to a change under Artaxerxes I, who shifted most, if not all, of the ceremonies and receptions to Susa. In general, however, one may say that unfinished stonework found at Persepolis indicates that the building and carvings had to be finished by a certain date, after which completion work was not permitted. It is more likely that the stonework was simply not finished because it was not needed thereafter as a finished product for the critical eyes of authorities. Much in later history would justify this view.

Unfortunately, we have very little information for the reign of Artaxerxes I which could help us in determining his connection with Persepolis. Herodotus (7. 151) tells us he was in Susa when Argos sent an embassy to the Achaemenid court, and it would seem from Elamite clay tablets from the Treasury at Persepolis that after his seventh year of reign building activity ceased at Persepolis, or at least greatly diminished.[6] This agrees with the number of inscriptions in Old Persian carved on the walls of various structures at Persepolis: roughly seven exist from the time of Darius I, twelve from Xerxes, one from Artaxerxes I, none from Darius II, of whom two have been found in Susa, none from Artaxerxes II, of whom four have been found in Susa, and two from the reign of Artaxerxes III. This would agree with the thesis advanced by Olmstead that Artaxerxes I left Persepolis after 462 B.C., only returning to be buried at Naqsh-i Rustam in 424 B.C.[7] One might add that the other monarchs of the line until Artaxerxes III probably did not use Persepolis frequently. This would explain the absence of any reference to Persepolis in Herodotus, who considered Susa the capital, while Ctesias mentions it only as a goal for the funeral cortèges of the Achaemenid kings.[8] Persepolis was not abandoned, but I believe its function changed from the time of Darius to Artaxerxes III. In order to explain this I would like to adopt the narrative method of the late Professor Olmstead who used to enchant his students with stories which sometimes did not distinguish between fact and surmise, but which nonetheless frequently gave new insights into general problems whose solutions were halted by difficult details. I wish to reconstruct a *vision d'ensemble* which is more than just possible, and, I hope, in accord with the little data which we have.

After Darius had slain Gaumata-Smerdis in a fortress, perhaps near the rock of Behistun, and after he had put down the revolts against his assumption of power, the problem of a great summer capital occupied his mind. Cyrus, who belonged to the clan of the Pasargadae of the Persian people, had built his summer capital in the homeland of his clan and perhaps he had spent winters in Borazjan, at least until the capture of Babylon.[9] Before Cyrus, the Elamites had had a summer capital at Anshan (today Tepe Maliyan) with their winter capital at Susa. We do not know whether the clan of Darius had its center on the Marv Dasht plain of Fārs province where Persepolis is located, or

[6] See R. T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago, 1969), p. 1, n. 1 where references to the various publications of the Treasury tablets are given.

[7] Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 352.

[8] Ctesias, *Persika* frag. 28, 44, 45, *εἰς Πέρσας* where the city is meant and not the province, as in 5, *ἐν Πέρσαις*.

[9] The column bases of a large palace found just outside of this town on the Bushire plain seem to date from the time of Cyrus, according to the chisel marks as well as the style. Cf. ʿAli Akbar Sarfaraz, "Un pavillon de l'époque de Cyrus le Grand à Borazdjan," *Bastan Chenasi ve Honar-e Iran* 7–8 (1971): 22–25.

whether Darius wished to conciliate the Elamites by following their example of their two capitals, or whether he perhaps had Elamite connections on his mother's side. The discovery in the Marv Dasht plain in October 1973 of twenty-eight small white stone column bases and at least four large dark gray stone column bases close to the remains of a stone structure (today called Takht-i Gauhar or Takht-i-Rustam) of the same dimensions as the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae may change our views of the plain of Marv Dasht before the building of Persepolis. The absence of tooth-comb chisel marks on these new column bases indicates that the building, presumably a palace fifty meters wide, was built before Persepolis. Judgment must be reserved, however, and this discovery does not change the view of the later Achaemenid history of Persepolis proposed below.

Regardless of the structures on the plain of Marv Dasht, whether built by Cyrus, Cambyses, or someone else, Darius chose Persepolis for his summer capital and Susa for his winter capital, one almost an exact copy of the other. Both were to be symbols of the might and glory of his new empire, and no money was to be spared on the building of both. Since summers in the Near East are not times of great exertion, it was obvious from the beginning that Susa would be the larger, more important capital. But from the beginning Persepolis was more symbolic of Achaemenid glory. It lay in the homeland of the Persians, and Darius decided to have his tomb carved into the solid rock of the nearby mountain, today called Naqsh-i Rustam, where the Elamites had carved a relief many centuries before the coming of the Persians. The tomb had to be carved out of solid rock to avoid contamination with the soil, already a concern of the ancient Aryan peoples. Furthermore, previous rulers in the ancient Near East had been buried in comparable monumental tombs and Darius was not loathe to copy them.

Anshan already had declined under the Medes and with Cyrus's creation of a capital at Pasargadae, but if anything was left of the ancient town at the time Darius started to build Persepolis, surely that was its deathblow. Astrologers and astronomers were probably consulted on the building of Persepolis, which would have been normal for the Near East of that time. Surely as many different peoples participated in the building of Persepolis as in that of Susa, according to the famous building inscription of Susa f, in Kent's classification of Old Persian inscriptions.[10] The results, winged man-bulls (*lamassu*) from Assyria, Ionian stonework, Egyptian doorways and other borrowings, are there for all to see. New Year's celebrations and many others were held there by Darius and especially by Xerxes, who apparently loved Persepolis. Artaxerxes I perhaps found the middle of March on the plateau too cold for his liking. In any case, Persepolis was not used as much by him or by later monarchs until the time of Artaxerxes III. If the concept of Persepolis changed at any time under the Achaemenids it might have been Artaxerxes II (404–359 B.C.), at the end of his long reign, who decided to declare Persepolis a kind of national shrine and put his tomb just behind the platform. If, indeed, he did do this, then he was followed by Artaxerxes III with such a concept.

Artaxerxes II was the ruler who prayed to Anahita and Mithra, as well as to Ahura-Mazda, who alone was mentioned by his predecessors in inscriptions. The same ruler, according to Berosus and Plutarch, first made cult statues of Anahita and placed them in temples in various parts of the empire.[11] We may speculate that Artaxerxes II, of all the rulers, could have conceived of the platform of Persepolis as a national shrine of the

[10] R. Kent, *Old Persian* (New Haven, 1953), pp. 142–43.

[11] See F. Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1873), 1:57.

Persians. In making it a shrine I do not mean a museum, but rather a treasury and a symbol of the Achaemenid dynasty and of the Persian people, more than it had been during the reigns of Darius and Xerxes when it was just a summer capital.

It is conceivable that the structure at Naqsh-i Rustam, called the Kaᶜba of Zardusht, which was copied from the sister building at Pasargadae, was built either by Darius when he moved to Persepolis, or by Artaxerxes II or Artaxerxes III. In my opinion the intention was the same, that is, to build a safety box for the paraphernalia of rule in the vicinity of Persepolis as had been done at Pasargadae. In the latter place the so-called Zendan had been the safe where the accoutrements for the coronation of the new king were kept to be used in the special ceremony by the new king after the interment of the old. I cannot believe the two structures were originally either fire temples or tombs. Later, the Kaᶜba of Zardusht may have been used as a safe where a copy of the Avesta was kept, but in any case it preserved its function as a safe, which is what it still resembles today.

So Persepolis, which had smaller palaces than its winter counterpart in Susa, became used less as a capital and more as a private retreat of royalty. It also probably then assumed a new role as the treasury and symbol of the Achaemenid dynasty. Before any definite answer to the history of Persepolis and its precinct Naqsh-i Rustam can be given, however, excavations of the mound in front of Naqsh-i Rustam, and perhaps of the nearby city of Istakhr, must be carried out. It is clear that only archaeology can contribute further to our knowledge of the function of Naqsh-i Rustam and its relation to Persepolis.

انتشارات
مؤسسهٔ آسیائی دانشگاه پهلوی شیراز

ازاین کتاب یکهزار نسخه درچاپخانهٔ دانشگاه پهلوی بچاپ رسید

۲۵۳۶ شاهنشاهی

گنجینهٔ دستنویسهای پهلوی
و
پژوهشهای ایرانی
۵۱

ریچارد نلسون فرای

مجموعه مقالات

به کوشش
ماهیار نوابی

جلد ۲

از انتشارات
مؤسسهٔ آسیائی «دانشگاه پهلوی» شیراز

به فرمان

علیاحضرت فرح پهلوی

شهبانوی ایران

ریاست عالیهٔ مؤسسهٔ آسیائی